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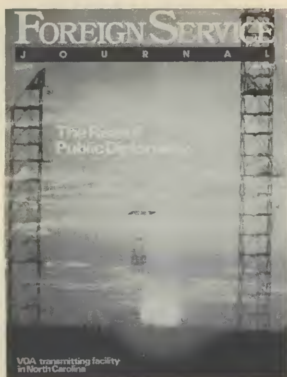

This Voice of America transmitting facility is a fitting symbol for our two-part discussion of the importance of public diplomacy. Beginning on page 30, Stephen Telkins explains what the Voice is doing to become more competitive in the increasingly contested international radio environment. On the subject of VOA's parent agency, David I. Hitchcock tells how USIA's analysis and reporting are valuable resources for policymakers and argues that their contributions should be better recognized.

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CONTENTS

Allende's Alternatives 22
Nathaniel Davis
The Chilean president's wavering on the road to socialism resulted in a regime that could not be sustained.

Publics & Policy 26
David I. Hitchcock Jr.
Policymakers should better recognize the importance of foreign public opinion and USIA's role in analyzing it.

Raising the Voice 30
Stephen Telkins
VOA must modernize in order to compete with foreign transmissions, but new technology means money.

The Twilight of Diplomacy 34
George C. McGhee
Diplomatic achievements have been forestalled by changes in the nature of leadership and governments.

Overland from China 38
Fred Donner
As Communists take over China, two Foreign Service officers lead dangerous evacuations across the mountains.

Association Views 3
Letters 4
Books: Essay 8
Books: Reviews 11
Periodicals 16
Clippings 18
10-25-50 19
Despatch 20
People 44
Election Section 46
Association News 49
Retirement News 56

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Association Views

Time to Restore Morale

How relevant are career diplomats, the proverbial boys in striped pants, in a profession where the vital interests and rules of play of U.S. foreign policy are often ill-defined, even murky? As a non-career diplomat now serving as U.S. ambassador to Morocco, I have come to believe they are vitally important.

While serving abroad I have found many parallels with my previous experience as an executive in a bank comparable with the State Department in size and world-wide interests. Yet, there are many differences. In banking or business, management by objective and therefore achievement is far more measurable, motivation more clear-cut. In government, responsibility is diffuse, hiring and firing almost impossible, and the buck rarely stops anywhere.

The Foreign Service has been maligned, even called "gutless" by another ambassador, yet it is often a more dangerous occupation than serving in our armed forces. Far more ambassadors than generals are shot at each year. In the past two years, three embassies have been obliterated, 19 U.S. diplomats assassinated, and 59 others have been the victims of terrorist attack. One needs to be continually alert to security threats. Few in the medium-sized embassy I head have not had close friends murdered in "peacetime" in the line of duty. And yet there is little public support for our professional diplomats.

Nor is "daily life" especially easy, even in a welcoming environment like Morocco. For example, secretaries, usually without training in the local language, are isolated here in a foreign, male-oriented culture. Elsewhere—in Kabul, Afghanistan; Beirut, Lebanon; or Bogota, Colombia, for example—day-to-day survival is uppermost. At all posts, code clerks and others work long hours in windowless vaults, and everyone is on active call 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Among our diplomats, decades of haphazard reform and contradictory plans have undercut morale and confidence in promotion for merit. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 required the restructuring of our diplomatic corps so as to reduce a then-existing surplus of senior officers. But it has also resulted in the promotion of only a tiny fraction of midcareer officers. If not promoted into the Senior Service within a fixed number of years, many of these officers face forced retirement in their 40s at the taxpayers' expense. The result of this gross inequity is resignation by those with other options or a "take what you can get" attitude by many who stay.

As ambassador, I have found in our Morocco mission loyalty and teamwork, as well as drive, inventiveness, and a willingness to go the extra mile. The professional staff in our embassies is clearly on a par with the best in industry, but unsung, underpaid, and undervalued at home. The individual officers are, in short, far better than the system they serve.

The department cries out for long-term, enlightened management to motivate and lead our diplomats. The last years of the 20th century will not be easy. We face a new generation of Soviet leaders, the most crucial disarmament talks in history, and widespread famines. To cope with these challenges we should take pride in our career diplomats and build up their morale. Ours is still the best diplomatic corps in the world, and as a nation we neglect this wasting asset at our peril.

JOSEPH VERNER REED,
Ambassador to Morocco

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LETTERS

A Classic

Methinks the Arabist doth protest too much ["The Arabist Myth," January].

RONALD K. PETERS
Foreign Service Officer
Kabul, Afghanistan

Sick and Tired

Nearly five years to the day after having filed a grievance with the Foreign Service Grievance Board and four years after the board's ruling in my favor, AID notified me that it would comply with the board's decision. AID earlier had rejected my claim to credit to my retirement annuity unused sick leave I had earned with the United Nations while on official secondment.

My case was based essentially on U.S. policy dating back to 1947 when President Truman issued an executive order to encourage U.S. employees to serve with international organizations. Since then, a sheaf of U.S. regulations have defined a broad range of procedures to ensure that transferees would not lose any of their entitlements. As I was to learn, the Manual Orders were sufficiently unclear on accrued sick leave that AID disagreed with my interpretation—not once but twice vis-a-vis the Grievance Board. Subsequently, after the board sustained its position, AID asked the General Accounting Office to adjudicate the case. The comptroller general found, however, that GAO had no jurisdiction in the matter, noting that the forum for such a review was in the U.S. District Court. AID considered this venue until its general counsel's office questioned the time and expense that would be involved in pursuing the case and recommended that the agency finally comply with the board's decision.

The most galling aspect of the experience—aside from the time and effort it consumed—was AID's motivation in playing an adversary role: the fear that additional payments that would ensue would impose an undue burden on its budgetary resources. The Office of Financial Management dictated AID's action throughout, and the record will clearly show that the

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question of overall policy, specifically whether AID's position was serving as an incentive to prospective transferees, was never really a factor in its deliberations.

Regrettably, the tale does not end at this point. Although I patiently hung in there and finally won my case, AID's Division of Employee Relations is notifying personnel returning to the fold to file a grievance if they are requesting a credit on their accrued sick leave. This despite the fact that AID's Manual Orders were appropriately revised (clarified?) when my case was closed.

Policy implications? Is there anyone in a position of responsibility who cares?

PIERRE L. SALES
Foreign Service Officer, retired
McLean, Virginia

Negotiating Gambits

While a brief book review hardly affords the opportunity for a meaningful discussion of nuclear arms control negotiations, David Linebaugh's uncritical endorsement of Strobe Talbott's provocative but by no means unflawed analysis in *Deadly Gambits* [BOOKS, January] was disappointing.

The weakness of Mr. Linebaugh's (and Mr. Talbott's) one-sided condemnation of the Reagan administration's policies in this field is perhaps best illustrated by Mr. Linebaugh's statement: "Burt argued that the Soviets would not negotiate reductions in the levels of SS-20 missiles in Western Europe. He was, of course, dead wrong. The immediate result of the U.S. deployments was that the Soviets walked out of the arms control talks." I submit that it was Mr. Linebaugh, not Mr. Burt, who was dead wrong.

The Soviets sought to prevent a U.S. redress of the nuclear imbalance in Europe by a variety of dire threats including the break-off of arms talks if the United States proceeded to deploy intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Clearly, the Soviets could not, without a complete loss of face and credibility, reverse themselves overnight when such deployment was begun. Equally clearly, the Soviets had good tactical reasons to continue stalling as long as there was even a slight hope that Mondale might win in November 1984. Indeed, the break-down in negotiations may have been viewed by the Soviets as helping Mondale's chances of winning. What is noteworthy, however, is that *without* any further concessions on the U.S. part (urged by many critics of the Reagan administration) the Soviets *have* returned to the negotiating table almost immediately after President Reagan's re-election and have

dropped their earlier insistence that the elimination of such U.S. weapons was a pre-condition for meaningful negotiations. History will record that the Soviets behaved exactly as Mr. Linebaugh accuses Mr. Burt of wrongly predicting.

JOHN A. MCKESSON
Foreign Service Officer, retired
New York, New York

Mr. Linebaugh responds:

There can be no doubt that the "immediate result" of the U.S. decision to deploy Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in Western Europe was Soviet withdrawal from nuclear arms control negotiations with the United States. Why have the Soviets now agreed, over a year later, to resume negotiations even though the United States continues the deployments? The answer may be an obvious one which Mr. McKesson doesn't mention. The Soviets want to prevent the militarization of space and kill Star Wars, a new factor which President Reagan introduced into the equation. The United States made its agreement to the negotiations about Star Wars that the Soviets had proposed conditional on Soviet agreement to resume negotiations about offensive nuclear weapons.

Foreign Service Expertise

I have been thinking about the dilemma posed by Evan Galbraith [*New York Times*, February 13; see story, page 20] for some time and thought I would share my efforts to deal with it with your readers. If doctors, lawyers, and businessmen are better at foreign policy than Foreign Service officers, what is it that Foreign Service officers are better at?

Based on what has been happening in the U.S. banking community it occurred to me that Foreign Service officers might be better at investment banking than those who have spent their lives doing it. While I doubt this is true of Ambassador Galbraith, I can think of lots of other bankers I have known who have moved up by avoiding trouble. Some vigor supplied from the ranks of the Foreign Service might provide a breath of fresh air in stuffy board rooms. Besides, the pay isn't bad. But somehow the profession seems to be hard to break into at the top.

I next thought of my only other employment experience, as an officer in the Navy. Over the last 25 years, I've had a lot of experience in national security, and I'm a specialist on the U.S.S.R. I think I'd do all right as an admiral, and my uniforms still fit. But I remembered Mac Toon's story

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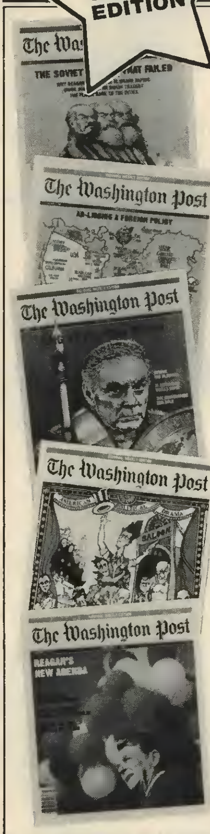

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about telling an admiral who wanted to be an ambassador that he, a former Navy lieutenant commander, would like to be an admiral when he retired. The admiral's reported reaction caused me to rethink sending in my resume.

Finally I thought of teaching. After all, lots of professors of government have made excellent ambassadors. Why shouldn't the reverse hold true? Since I am already a visiting fellow at Dartmouth College, I offered to teach a for-credit course on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The answer was a polite "no" from the faculty. Think of the precedent this would set, I was told. Once we let one outsider in, how can we draw the line? We welcome your presence here and your contact with students, but don't try to "cross the line."

Maybe, based on his contact with the Foreign Service, Ambassador Galbraith has some ideas about fields where the Foreign Service officers can be used, if effectively harnessed.

ROBERT L. BARRY
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BOOKS

The Imam's Iran

By JOHN D. STEMPEL

The Pride and the Fall: *Iran 1974–79. By Anthony Parsons. Cape, 1984. $18.95.* **The Reign of the Ayatollahs:** *Iran and the Islamic Revolution. By Shaul Bakhash. Basic Books, 1984. $18.95.* **The Government of God:** *Iran's Islamic Republic. By Cheryl Benard and Zalmay Khalilzad. Columbia University Press, 1984. $25.* **Islam and Politics.** *By John Esposito. Syracuse University Press, 1984.* **The State and Revolution in Iran.** *By Hossein Bashiriyeh. St. Martin's Press, 1984. $27.50.*

These books constitute the best of the second wave of studies of Iran's Islamic revolution and its political impact in the Middle East and elsewhere. They are more concerned with the effects of the revolution than with its whys and wherefors. Bakhash, Bashiriyeh, and Benard and Khalilzad make particularly good use of information from contemporary Iran.

Former British Ambassador to Iran Parsons's *The Pride and the Fall* probably really belongs with the first wave. It's an excellent short memoir which sensibly does not attempt to cover the whole spectrum of Islam, Iran, and the British, but deals with the basic question, "Why didn't I see what was coming?" (The short answer is too little focus by Parsons on Iranian history, too much generalization from his Arab and Turkish experience.) His description of the workings of the British embassy will be of professional interest, especially his explanation of its focus on commercial affairs. It makes an interesting contrast to U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan's more ambitious effort in the U.S. embassy. One caveat: The unsuspecting reader may take Parsons's discreet silence on political affairs to suggest his embassy was not interested, as one unfortunate review has done. Despite the British ambassador's focus on his commercial mission, the United Kingdom maintained a very active watch; one or two of their political officers were

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John D. Stempel is special assistant in the Bureau of Near East Affairs. He served in Iran for four years prior to the embassy takeover.

among the best in Teheran during the immediate pre-revolutionary years. Parsons agrees with those who see Khomeini and his movement as anti-modernist and a return to a traditional pattern that Reza Shah set out to eradicate in the 1920s. His very droll treatment in the introduction of those who believe British (or U.S.) machinations engineered Khomeini's triumph is a masterpiece that is, almost on its own, worth the price of the book.

Bakhash focuses directly on Iran in *The Reign of the Ayatollahs*, specifically the period following the revolution. His book is a lively, readable account of the unfolding and partial consolidation of the revolution. It deals well with several major problem areas: development of the Islamic structure of government, emergence of the Islamic constitution, importance of the economic dislocation brought on by the revolution, and international reaction to Islamic government. This book is important as a descriptive work, but one wishes Bakhash had included analysis (which he is well equipped to do) of where the revolution might go and of its impact on Iranian society. In fact, he only briefly mentions, almost in passing, that Iran's revolution is not over:

> While it remained unclear who would replace Khomeini, the certainty was that his successor or successors would not enjoy his immense prestige and legitimacy; and that with the weakening of the leadership, the factionalism and fragmented authority characteristic of the revolutionary regime, the imperfectly integrated and potentially disruptive revolutionary organizations, and the still unresolved issues of Islamization, economic justice, and political participation would re-emerge with force to trouble Khomeini's heirs.

Political scientists Benard and Khalilzad, while not quite as articulate as Bakhash, have produced the most penetrating and theoretically enlightening study of the revolution and its impact on the rest of the world. *The Government of God* also spends more time discussing what the future may bring, specifically the political relationship between fundamentalism and the rise of factions that may well muddy the Khomeini succession. The authors believe that the final result for Iran may not yet be apparent in the struggle between tradition and modernization.

Benard and Khalilzad sketch out several future options for Iran, from military takeover to overthrow by one of the dissident factions (their candidate is the Mujahiddin, which seems improbable to this reviewer, if only because the present regime has so badly beaten the Mujahiddin forces in the year since the book was drafted). What is striking, in this book and the others under review, is the wide range of possibilities open to Iran. It is clear that the radical forces have not fully imposed their view of politics on Iranian society.

Chapter four, "Prejudice as a Cultural Weapon: Orientalism vs. Occidentalism," with its critique of western attitudes, should be must reading at the Foreign Service Institute, and for most serious U.S. students of the Middle East. It is superior in tone and substance to Edward Said's *Orientalism*.

For those who like their analysis with a Marxist twist and vocabulary, Bashiriyeh fits Iran into the context of revolutionary theory. In *The State and Revolution in Iran*, he asserts that indigenous nationalism, for historical and circumstantial reasons, came to be reflected in terms of an Islamic reaction to the penetration of Western capitalism. However, he focuses his analysis on the impact of the Khomeini movement on the structure of the Iranian state. His treatment is less thorough than Benard and Khalilzad's, more matter of fact than Bakhash's. He fits Iran into the classical

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Crane Brinton model of a revolution which consumes itself and eventually (like France) turns to an authoritarian government. The state structure has indeed remained fluid due to recurrent political and economic crises and the Gulf war.

Islam and Politics shows how resurgent Islam has manifested itself not only in Iran but in other areas. Esposito illustrates how different historical contexts can channel the Islamic movement in substantially different directions. He identifies four basic Islamic attitudes toward modernization and change, and refutes the notion that Islam is inherently fundamentalist. All of these authors acknowledge that the connection between religion and change is more complex than some recent scholarship has suggested. From a policy perspective, Esposito's conclusions are worth noting:

> In many parts of the Islamic world, Muslims stand at a crossroads. Although independent states for several decades, the political legitimacy of many Muslim governments is far from established. To the extent that incumbent governments fail to satisfy the political and economic needs of their societies and to pursue a path of modernization which is sensitive to their Islamic heritage, they will remain in a precarious position in which stability is based more often than not on authoritarian rule and force. If Muslim governments strive to achieve a new synthesis providing some continuity between the demands of modernity and their Islamic tradition, then a broad range of possibilities stretch out before them—from a conservative, fundamentalist to a more reformist state and society. The possibilities are many. While the outcome indeed will vary from country to country depending upon political, social, and economic variables, the process itself is inevitable because it involves national identity as well as religious understanding and commitment.

In addition to arguing for policy sensitivity and flexibility, these books suggest the following general conclusions. For Iran, it now seems beyond doubt that the shah mismanaged the development process and mistakenly tried to exclude religion from it, rather than reshaping religion to support development goals. As Khalilzad and Benard put it, this made "religion part of a beleaguered national culture," and left the mosques as the principal spokesmen for the disenfranchised and the discontented. While Khomeini initially enjoyed overwhelming support, his attempts to recast Iranian society in a fundamentalist mold have not succeeded. The ruling group has split into factions, and fragmentation seems to be infecting even the Revo-

lutionary Guard. Notwithstanding the specific problems of the errant Iranian regime, it is fair to say that Islamic doctrine in some form, even reformist, will play a significant role in almost any government which follows the present one.

The internationalist manifestations of radical Islam, particularly the state-sponsored terrorism of Iran, may not be a permanent fixture in the world or in Iran. They are certainly not endemic in the more reformist variants of Islam. Even where the social and economic patterns are similar to Iran—modernizing, secular government, popular discontent, etc.—the accession of fundamentalist, or radical Islamic, leaders to power is by no means an inevitable outcome. Indeed, it appears that the mishandling of the modernizing process, or the social discontent that it creates, opens the way for the radicals.

Perhaps the most important advice for analysts and policymakers is the stress all the authors place on clearheaded, intelligent analysis *not* based on ignorance and wishful thinking. These books, while differing in detail and emphasis, offer excellent insights into one of the most important phenomena of our time. Those by Benard and Khalilzad and Esposito, in particular, develop some intriguing ideas regarding its impact on our political world.

Reviews

Power, Passions, and Purpose: *Prospects for North-South Negotiations. Edited by Jagdish N. Bhagwati and John Gerard Ruggie. The MIT Press, 1984.*

There will be no comprehensive North-South global deal such as was envisioned in OPEC's heyday when the cartel was at the height of its price-fixing power. This is the consensus that emerges among the 12 authors in this collection of essays.

The implications drawn from this conclusion vary considerably. Some authors are vague, others ambivalent about the final purpose of North-South negotiations: Are they important for their own sake—as a political demonstration of northern concern? Is the main objective a redistribution of political and economic power? Or are the talks intended to alter the international economic rules in ways that will result in greater progress in the South, and perhaps in the North as well? "All of the above" is the answer most of the authors seem to give. Unfortunately, this answer places them in the difficult position of trying to make political and economic recommendations that are not necessarily compatible.

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The book is decidedly worth reading, with the part on "Debts, Finance, and Trade" the most illuminating. Of particular interest is Carlos Diaz-Alejandro's chapter on "Some Economic Lessons of the Early 1980s." Nevertheless, the book might have provided better guidance had it more clearly distinguished between predictions and recommendations. Descriptive and normative elements are often confused, as are the historical and analytical.

If we assume that the main desire is to accelerate social and economic progress in the South, then there is a serious omission in every chapter. Not one of them raises the basic issue of the poor quality of economic management of the individual Third World governments. A mistaken assumption by the authors is that increased financial flows from such changes as higher commodity prices, automatic transfers, greater international reserves, and expanded lending will ensure southern development. But time and again, increased funds have proven to be insufficient for successful development. Consequently, the issue of national economic management should be included in any North-South negotiation. Unfortunately, the South has not yet confronted the hard fact that national obstacles to development are greater than international ones.

Such negotiations cannot be fruitful if they do not deal with all of the major development obstacles. Consequently, the increasing protectionism in northern countries should be one of the main concerns. And the widespread economic mismanagement in the developing countries should also be a principal topic.

—Brandon Robinson

The Wedemeyer Mission: *American Politics and Foreign Policy During the Cold War. By William Stueck. University of Georgia Press, 1984. $18.*

Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer's 1947 mission to China and Korea was one of the most controversial episodes of U.S. postwar involvement in Asia. This account is based on extensive research in archival materials that have become available in recent years. While it does not break new interpretive ground, it fleshes out our previous knowledge of Wedemeyer's mission and his subsequent involvement in political controversy.

Wedemeyer was sent to civil war-torn China and occupied Korea in 1947 by President Truman to appraise the situation in both countries and make policy recommendations. Secretary of State Marshall hoped the general could persuade Chinese nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek to undertake much-needed reforms. Marshall also hoped the mission would deflect the congressional pressure for expanded aid to China. Neither of these hopes was realized.

Appalled at the corruption and incompetence he found in China, Wedemeyer urged the necessity of reform. Nonetheless, he recommended vastly expanded U.S. aid. Washington rejected this recommendation, and his report was not made public. It was suppressed, however, not so much because its suggestions ran counter to administration policy, but because his proposal for a U.N. trusteeship over Manchuria was unworkable and would have damaged Chiang's prestige.

As political controversy over U.S. policy toward China became increasingly virulent after the Nationalist collapse in 1949, critics of the Truman administration tried to use Wedemeyer to change the policy and embarrass the White House. Increasingly, the general, now retired, succumbed to the poisonous atmosphere of the day, impugning the loyalty of the Foreign Service officers who had served with him in China.

Marshall was right, Stueck concludes, to reject Wedemeyer's recommendations; there is little reason to believe the American people would have supported a commitment of money and manpower on a scale sufficient to prop up the nationalists. Furthermore, he argues, although the United States paid a price in the short run for the communist victory, it eventually benefited by having a united China that removed Soviet influence from Manchuria. What Wedemeyer failed to understand was the power of nationalism in Asia. Marshall's State Department advisers, although they underestimated the capacity of Mao's forces to unite and govern the country, were more sensitive to the force of nationalism and hence less inclined to believe that any foreign power could long dominate China. —Harriet D. Schwar

America as a World Power: *A Realist Appraisal from Wilson to Reagan. By Norman A. Graebner. Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1984.*

In this volume of essays, the aristocrat of U.S. diplomatic historians scans the landscape of foreign policy from 1918 to the present. But, rather than another history of the times, this collection by Scholarly Resources highlights those episodes that tell us something important about ourselves, our world view, and our peculiar

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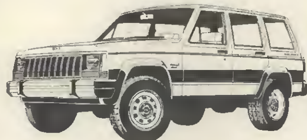

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American way of doing international business. Thus, among the best: the post–World War I "Retreat to Utopia"; "The Limits to Victory" in World War II; "Global Containment: The Truman Years"; and "Henry Kissinger: A Contemporary Appraisal."

One of the joys of reading Graebner is his elegant and astringent style. In an era when international relations has become the plaything of the partisan and politician, Graeber reminds us of the classic principles which sustain the architecture of interstate relations, of an age when statecraft was a high calling. With the old consensus that supported these principles now shattered, he evokes our historic interests, beginning with Alexander Hamilton who, writing in *The Federalist Papers*, defined them with timeless relevance, clarity, and precision. Perhaps better than any other historian, Graebner articulates the classic realist view that "the United States [should] recognize the essentially political character of international life—that power and interests, not morality and law, determine the behavior of nations."

Graebner is a deliciously mordant critic of the American penchant of substituting high-minded principle for realistic diplomacy. "That the American people drew precisely the wrong conclusions from their World War I experience was a tribute to Wilson's influence over their thoughts and emotions....Only a leadership compelled by overcommitment to obscuring the truth could have misled the people even briefly into the belief that they could achieve some new international order simply by producing the elements of power sufficient to assure Germany's defeat." Furthermore, "the neglect of diplomacy in the name of principle would simply eliminate the considerable power and influence of the United States from decisions affecting its own and the world's future."

The future balance of power, according to Graebner, lies not in America's nuclear arsenal, but in the sovereignty of nations that individually and collectively oppose Soviet aggression. We must, therefore, revitalize our diplomacy with a realist's respect for basic and historic national interests outside of which "no nation has ever operated successfully."

—Robert K. Olson

Government Under Stress: *Political Executives and Key Bureaucrats in Washington, London, and Ottawa. By C. Campbell. University of Toronto Press, 1983.*

The nature of political leadership and the conditions under which it can be exercised are rightly attracting considerable interest. After a long period when political scientists felt it unnecessary or impossible to tackle the role of national executives, there is now a clear recognition that the management, steering, and indeed strong guidance of the people is more than an epiphenomenon. Hence a desire to know what leadership entails, what qualities are required, and what differences exist in leadership personalities.

This interest in leadership has clearly been triggered by the apparently intractable problems that contemporary rulers face—problems due in part to the growth of demands on government and in part to the more specific difficulties that have confronted leaders since the 1970s. Bureaucracies grow to meet demands, of course, but rulers then find themselves faced with the enormous problem of steering the Leviathan they invented.

In this state of affairs, the question of who controls the bureaucrats becomes of major significance, and *Bureaucrats Under Stress* is devoted to a description of these key intermediaries. A detailed attempt to understand how the U.S., British, and Canadian governments have sought to overcome difficulties of coordination and leadership, it contains a meticulous analysis of three critical factors: strategic planning, economic and fiscal policy, and the allocation and management of resources. A general survey of the background and attitudes of administrators concludes the book.

In many respects, this study does succeed, not just in throwing light on the core of the bureaucracy, but in showing how substantial the differences are between the pluralistic and open but also very competitive U.S. system, the more closed but in many ways more efficient British system, and the "voluntaristic" efforts that characterize Canada (or did in the Trudeau era). Campbell disposes of a number of myths, including, for instance, the idea of an extremely well-staffed U.S. core group as against an allegedly small central group close to the British prime minister. Some of the comparative value of the work, however, is lost as a result of Campbell's otherwise laudable passion for detail. The author is so anxious to tell us everything that the reader sometimes loses the general thread, and above all, the comparative lessons.

There is inevitably a tension, in studies of this kind, between the desire to describe accurately and the need to find a general framework that will provide a basis for comparison. Many works purport to be comparative but then present wholly dif-

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ferent cases with no common thread. Campbell's study strives to undertake real comparisons, but it would have done better to identify the problems that the various institutions were actually created to solve. As it stands, this study, however informative in a specific manner, does not ultimately provide the overall lessons about what can be expected of key bureaucrats in modern governments.

—J. BLONDEL

Terrorism and Personal Protection. *Edited by Brian Jenkins. Butterworth Publishers, 1985.*

Once upon a time, a balloonist was lost and spied a man walking along a road below him. After maneuvering within hailing distance, the balloonist shouted, "Where am I?" The man replied, "In a balloon." Books about terrorism are frequently like the man on the road: in the right place, at the right time, and irrelevant to the practical issue. Happily, Brian Jenkins's *Terrorism and Personal Protection* is different, albeit with some shortcomings.

Jenkins's work has long been an important point of reference in the study of terrorism. This book continues his dominance and will quickly become the standard in this field. Drawing heavily on his own and the RAND Corporation's previous research, Jenkins wrote many of the chapters. He has added to his work that of other U.S., Latin American, and European specialists, several of whom are internationally recognized experts. They have provided updated statistics and some interesting case studies and country analyses.

The book is divided into five parts: defining the threat, incident management, negotiations, security matters, and "people" issues. It also deals with the practical aspects of terrorist incidents: ransoms, negotiations, preventive measures, etc. The real focus of the book, however, is kidnapping: how to avoid it, what to do when it happens, and what are its residual effects. This is a reference book for people responsible for security, but it should also be read by those concerned for their own safety or that of their families. Although it concentrates on business executives, most of the lessons and preventive suggestions are equally applicable to the Foreign Service.

Despite its overall excellence, *Terrorism and Personal Protection* has some failings. Geographically, it is limited to West Germany, Italy, and parts of Latin America—ignoring some of the highest-threat areas. Much of its content is repeated several times, and a few chapters (especially those dealing with legal issues) border on the tedious. Some information is incorrect or incomplete, such as the suggestions as to where people can seek governmental assistance. The book's most serious faults are its lack of medical expertise when discussing psychological issues and its brief treatment of family issues. *Terrorism and Personal Protection* nonetheless provides the first serious, well-organized treatment of terrorist kidnappings for both laymen and persons at risk.

—MAYER NUDELL

A Peace in Southern Africa: *The Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia, 1979. By Jeffrey Davidow. Westview Press, 1984.*

This book covers two broad themes, both of equal importance to diplomats. The first concerns conflict resolution, namely the role of the British government, especially Foreign Secretary Peter Carrington, in organizing the 1979 conference at Lancaster House that was convened to find, once and for all, a solution to the Rhodesian problem. For over 15 years, successive British governments had failed to convince

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Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to relinquish the control that he and approximately 200,000 other white settlers maintained over the estimated seven million Rhodesian blacks. Carrington used a variety of talents—mediator, negotiator, arbitrator—to ensure the success of the conference. Davidow, a Foreign Service officer, nicely chronicles these efforts.

Equally importantly, the book also concerns the tension between ends and means in foreign policy. There was little debate over the goal of British policy: The inevitability of African majority rule was accepted as fact in nearly every corner of Whitehall. But ever since Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in the mid-1960s, there had been little agreement on how to achieve this goal.

The actual debate at Lancaster House centered on three aspects of implementing independence. First was the actual method of returning Rhodesia from an illegal UDI status to a legal one. The book discusses in great detail the debate over the proper role for the various factions in the transition. Second was the timing and speed under which colonial government would be restored and supervised free elections held. This point became the greatest challenge to the British government. Third, there was the genuine interest of the Thatcher government in the Rhodesian issue and in Africa as a whole, which affected the approach Carrington used in the debate. The United States watched the process at Lancaster House with great interest, although its concerns were peripheral. The United States did, however, have an abiding interest in seeing racial peace established while preserving its source of chromium.

The book's major flaw is the inadequate attention given to the ZAPU-ZANU rivalry. Seemingly, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo could agree on precious little, but the book only superficially mentions their disputes and offers no analysis. It is therefore less valuable as a guide to the political dynamics of present-day Zimbabwe than should have been the case. It does mention the provision for holding general elections no later than April 16 of this year, but a thorough analysis of tribal tensions that existed even during the conference would have led to the conclusion that these elections can and probably will be postponed a year. Indeed, Nkomo says openly that the spirit of Lancaster House has been abandoned and that, even if elections are held, they probably will not be free or fair. The rivalry may also lead to Zimbabwe's being declared a one-party state, especially if elections are held and Mugabe captures a larger majority than in 1980. It is too bad that the same excellent analysis surrounding the conference was not extended to the rivalry in Zimbabwe today.

Nevertheless, the book is well written and the analysis, although too narrowly focused, is generally lucid and systematic. Readers who may not be well-versed in African affairs, but who are interested in southern Africa and the transition of political dynamics in a pluralistic society, will find this study useful and timely.

—ROY HARRELL

From the Think Tanks

America's Volunteer Military: *Progress and Prospects. By Martin Binkin. Studies in Defense Policy, The Brookings Institution, 1984. 63pp. $6.95.* The success of the volunteer military may be threatened by the anticipated decline in numbers of young Americans and by a robust economic recovery. Its continued success could be encouraged, however, by making military pay comparable to civilian pay, expanding the role of women in the military, encouraging longer tours of duty, using civilians for non-combat jobs, and tapping new sources of potential recruits.

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Periodicals

"**Belief Systems and Decision-Making in the *Mayaguez* Crisis.**" *By Chris Lamb. Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 99, #4, Winter 1984–85.* The 1975 *Mayaguez* incident demonstrates the importance of a decision-maker's individual beliefs in a crisis situation, writes Lamb. All the key decision-makers shared certain values that made them opt almost immediately for a military solution. They believed that the recent withdrawal from Saigon had severely damaged U.S. credibility and that the *Mayaguez* represented another domino in the struggle to retain U.S. interests and influence.

Beliefs also account for differing behavior by individuals throughout the crisis. Secretary of State Kissinger was intent on proving American will and so pushed for a strong military response while ignoring possible diplomatic opportunities. Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, however, was leery of having the United States seem brutal and so argued against the use of B-52s. This behavior cannot be explained by rationality, because the actions taken ran a high risk of working against, not toward, the objectives. Nor can it be explained by taking into account the decision-makers' bureaucratic positions. Clearly, other secretaries of state and defense could have responded differently; it was the innate beliefs of these individuals that made them react as they did.

"**Anti-Americanism in the Third World.**" *By Alvin Z. Rubenstein and Donald B. Smith. Orbis, Vol. 28, #3, Fall 1984.* Anti-Americanism takes several forms, each of which differs in its political impact, write Rubenstein and Smith.

Issue-oriented anti-Americanism is aimed against specific U.S. policies. It is dictated by national interests and so can be reversed as those interests change. Ideological anti-Americanism is a sustained antagonism, based on a view of the United States as imperialist and decadent. Because it is prevalent among elites, it usually has some influence on the government. Instrumental anti-Americanism is hostility manipulated by a government for its own purposes, usually to create a scapegoat. Because it is not a permanent part of public opinion, it can be a short-lived phenomenon. Finally, revolutionary anti-Americanism occurs when an opposition group makes hostility for the United States a central tenet of a successful fight for power, and, in the process, that attitude becomes a mass phenomenon. This has happened in both Nicaragua and Iran, and the effects are unlikely to be reversed soon.

"**Isolationism, Left and Right.**" *By Charles Krauthammer. New Republic. #3659, March 4, 1985.* Isolationism is reemerging today on both the left and the right, writes Krauthammer. But just as the United States remained busy in Latin America and the Far East during isolationism's pre–World War I heyday, so modern isolationists argue only for selective disengagement.

On the left, isolationism has been adopted by the mainstream of the Democratic Party. The Democrats remain committed to an internationalist goal—the protection of human rights around the world—but their means are anti-interventionist. They profess multilateralism as a defense against the charge of isolationism, but because that requires countries to work in concert, it is a guarantee of inaction. On the right, the isolationists are nationalist and unilateralist. Not yet in the mainstream, they are growing in strength. They seek to reduce U.S. commitments and act according to a narrow concept of national interest. Right-wing isolationism is defendable, but it is a policy more suited to a minor regional power than the United States.

"**Arms Control With and Without Agreements.**" *By Kenneth L. Adelman. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 63, #2, Winter 1984–85.* To escape the current stagnation in arms control, suggests Adelman, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, we should complement traditional approaches with a new one: arms control without agreements. Over the years, American impatience and inability to keep a secret, along with problems over verification, have made it very difficult to negotiate a worthwhile accord. Furthermore, arms control has failed either to reduce the numbers of weapons or to restrain Soviet misbehavior in regional crises.

One new approach to reducing the number of weapons does hold some promise, however. Each side, in consultation with the other, would take steps to enhance security and reduce nuclear weapons, but there would be no formal treaty. This would not solve all the problems of arms control, but it would reduce the need to have absolute agreement over verifica-

tion and the systems to be included in negotiations, allow for changes as circumstances alter, and lessen the pressures of public opinion.

"Dateline Langley: Fixing the Intelligence Mess." *By Allan E. Goodman. Foreign Policy, #57, Winter 1984–85.* Fragmentation and competition among rival intelligence agencies has led to a system that provides neither timely, complete, nor accurate information, according to Goodman.

The Reagan administration has devoted much money and attention to improving U.S. intelligence capabilities, but to little avail. Indeed, Director William Casey's penchant for advocating policy has made it more difficult for dissenting analyses to emerge. To correct these failings, the intelligence community needs to encourage analysts to share information and do long-range studies, and to provide more opportunities to work abroad. The review procedure should be improved, particularly so the assumptions of each analysis are made clear. Above all, the intelligence community needs to be centralized. Only when the different agencies are no longer rivals, will effective, coherent intelligence analyses be possible.

"The Divided Decision-Maker: American Domestic Politics and the Cuban Crises." *By Fen Osler Hampson. International Security, Vol. 9, #3, Winter 1984–85.* During a foreign policy crisis, the impact of domestic politics on decision-makers is commonly believed to be slight. According to Hampson, however, domestic pressures often play a large role.

During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, for example, President Kennedy saw the danger as being not only to the United States, but also to his own position. Although diplomatic action may have been the least risky way of protecting U.S. interests, Kennedy realized that he needed to act tough to discredit charges that he was "soft on communism." Therefore, a diplomatic response was ruled out, and the military option with the least chance of escalating into real conflict—a blockade—was chosen. In contrast, the crisis brought on by the building of a Soviet submarine base at Cienfuegos in 1970 was resolved diplomatically because President Nixon was convinced that military action would result in accusations that he had created a crisis just before an election. In 1979, the "discovery" of a Soviet brigade in Cuba was given much prominence by Senator Frank Church, who was in the middle of a difficult campaign. In this case, domestic politics elevated an error into a crisis.

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CLIPPINGS

Newt Can't Wait

"Jeane Kirkpatrick on the outside may prove to be much more dangerous to the Foreign Service and the State Department than Jeane Kirkpatrick ever was on the inside."

Representative Newt Gingrich (R.-Georgia) on NBC Nightly News, January 30

Embassy Defenses

"In the wake of the September 20 bombing of the embassy annex in East Beirut, both CBS and NBC did spots on their nighty news programs about the danger facing American diplomats overseas. CBS's concentrated on the Middle East, pointing out flaws in the embassy defenses in Cairo and Amman. NBC's focused on U.S. embassies in Paris, the Hague, and Tel Aviv.

"In the NBC spot, rented trucks filled with empty boxes were driven to spots in the rear of the Tel Aviv and the front of the Hague installations and left unattended. The Israeli security men guarding the embassy never checked the vehicle. Dutch police watched as the van's driver ran away. Those security lapses, and others shown in the piece, were not unnoticed by the State Department. Says a high-ranking Washington-based diplomat who often monitors the press, 'People paid attention. I can tell you those reports did create some reaction.' "

John Weisman in TV Guide, February 23

USIA's Overseers

"Edwin J. Feulner Jr. said yesterday the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy would hold hearings on whether to lift restrictions on using the government's financial resources to influence public opinon. USIA is prohibited both from direct domestic dissemination of editorial materials and from making materials available to domestic broadcasters."

Bill Outlaw in the Washington Times, February 14

"A presidential commission on USIA said yesterday that controversies over Director Charles Z. Wick's recording of telephone conversations and the 'blacklisting' of potential USIA speakers were the result 'not of malicious intent' but of 'energy, dedication, and commitment' in accomplishing the agency's mission....

" 'Four years ago, this commission was gravely concerned about the prospects for public diplomacy,' the report said. 'Today there are many reasons why this bleak outlook is changing....the Reagan administration has revitalized USIA and, under the creative leadership of Charles Z. Wick, made public diplomacy a central part of the conduct of American foreign policy.' "

John M. Goshko in the Washington Post, February 14

Problem at the Voice

"A small but disagreeable cloud has formed over the broadcasts that the U.S. government beams, by way of the Voice of America and Radio liberty, to the Soviet Union. In recent months there have been a number of complaints that a handful of these broadcasts are tinged with at least a trace of anti-Semitism and anti-democratic sentiment. The managers of the stations have insisted that there is no substance whatever to these charges....

"A number of congressmen are concerned about the matter, and the General Accounting Office has been looking into Radio Liberty. This is unpleasant but necessary. The Voice of America, speaking for the American government and people, and Radio Liberty, which seeks to provide its listeners with the native material their governments censor, are important instruments of American foreign policy. Most of their work is beyond cavil....It would be intolerable if either station harbored any trace of the prejudice which is rampant, under official sponsorship, on Soviet soil."

Washington Post, February 26

Depth Charges

"Someone at a left-wing think tank got hold of an old document about our contingency plans to use nuclear depth charges to defend some allies, and has apparently gone leaking it around the world trying to create an anti-U.S. furor.

"*New York Times* reporter Leslie Gelb wrote a story about this activity....Secretary Shultz called the *Times* and asked the newspaper to kill the story. Why treat this as still secret, since it was a matter of debate in foreign parliaments and certainly known to the Russians?

"To advertise his anger, [Director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs] General Chain ripped [former Director] Gelb's picture off the State Department wall. (It wasn't ripped off, he corrects me, 'it was lifted off gently') and substituted a sign, accusing my *Times* colleague, a good and loyal American, of 'willingly, willfully, and knowingly' publishing classified information 'harmful and damaging to the country.' That charge of traitorous conduct, if leveled at Generals Westmoreland, Sharon, or Chain, would invite an instant libel suit."

William Safire in the New York Times, March 4

Candy for the Bear

"The U.S. was a candy store for our diplomats. During their short tours of duty they amassed an unbelievable amount of goods unavailable or too expensive in the U.S.S.R....Automatic washing machines (almost nonexistent and only semi-automatic), dishwashers, cameras, stereo systems, records, cassettes, crates of baby food and disposable diapers, irons, china, tissues and toilet paper, clothes, shoes, and fabrics were all transported to the U.S.S.R....From ambassadors to the lowliest clerks, all regularly sent thousands of pounds of goods home."

Arkady Shevchenko in Breaking with Moscow, 1985

Broadening the Cadre

[Questioned at a Senate Foreign Relations Commmittee hearing by Senator Jesse Helms as to why David Nolan, whom Helms described as a foremost expert in Central America, is serving at a post in Africa instead of Central America, Shultz replied:]

"We try to develop expertise and use it, but I think we also have to have a sense of career development in our Foreign Service officers. It's a problem if somebody gets very good at some one thing, then people say, 'Never change him around because otherwise you lose that expertise,' but if you follow that all the time, what you wind up doing is producing a very narrow individual. And if the person is very good and has real potential you want to give him or her a broad exposure....

"We need to give [career personnel] the breadth of experience and exposure that's going to allow them to develop because, over a period of time, the quality of our foreign policy is going to be very much affected by the quality of this cadre."

February 1

CLIPPINGS records statements in the media on the conduct of American diplomacy and the foreign affairs agencies. Reader contributions are invited.

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10-25-50

Foreign Service Journal, April 1975: "The Congress, in a move indicative of the depths to which AID as an institution has fallen, balked at efforts by the administration to pass a continuing resolution to fund AID. While we doubt that Congress will permit the agency literally to go bankrupt, it has come dangerously close this time, and we in the foreign affairs community must reckon with the fact that AID's demise appears closer now than at any other time in the agency's history."

AFSA Editorial

Foreign Service Journal, April 1960: "Professor James L. McCamy, of the University of Wisconsin [thinks] that policy-making has been much neglected by the Department of State in recent years. [Professor McCamy] does not think well of the Wristonized Foreign Service; nor in fact, did he like it un-Wristonized. But he considers the pre-Wriston departmental service, "amateur and wildly uncoordinated though it was," had capabilities for producing important policy ideas. He is convinced that recruitment of all professional people through the present system of examinations is not going to bring to light a sufficient number of men and women with 'talent for policy....'

"Professor McCamy's answer, which can only be summarized briefly at this point, is that the Department of State should immediately hire about 400 specialists in foreign policy." *Frank Snowden Hopkins*

Foreign Service Journal, April 1935: "The schedule of obligations accompanying the estimate for salaries of Foreign Service officers contained in the budget for 1936 indicates that $3,296,550 would be required for the annual salaries of 688 officers on a full-time basis, including automatic promotions. This amount has been reduced to $3,292,150 by the retirement of one officer at $4,400 since the preparation of the budget and the department believes it can be further reduced to $3,258,395 through normal lapses such as replacement at the minimum salary."

10-25-50 records JOURNAL *excerpts from previous issues with an eye toward how much things have changed—or remained the same.*

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FOREIGN SERVICE
D E S P A T C H

Galbraith & Guts

Outgoing Ambassador to France Evan Galbraith amassed a reputation for outspokenness in his three and half years in Paris. The government there reprimanded him three times during his stay—the ambassador has said that he doesn't believe in that "old-fashioned nonsense about not interfering in other countries' politics"—and he was involved in the controversy surrounding the endorsement of Senator Jesse Helms by 21 non-career ambassadors during last fall's election. Even Galbraith seems to have been surprised, however, by the reaction to his recent criticism of the Foreign Service.

Making an argument that political appointees make superior ambassadors to career officers, Galbraith told a *New York Times* reporter that "foreign policy is too important to be left up to Foreign Service officers." He went on to contend that doctors, lawyers, and business executives would make superior ambassadors, since "there's something about the Foreign Service that takes the guts out of people. The tendency is to avoid confronting an issue." He admitted that "most of them are conscientious guys who carry out policy" but claimed that a lack of guts manifested itself in "a difference between carrying it out mechanically, ritualistically, and really pushing the president's line."

Rather than seeing Galbraith's outspokenness as an argument in favor of the political appointee, *Times* foreign affairs columnist Flora Lewis viewed it as a case of "undiplomatic sounding off." She said that Galbraith's statements were frequently at variance not only with the State Department but with President Reagan. The ambassador had said that a nuclear counterstrike force would still be needed after deployment of a Star Wars system, for instance, at the same time the president was saying that missile defense would mean a reduction in U.S. ICBMS. The United States "can't have as many foreign policies as it has cocky ambassadors," she concluded.

The *National Review* and the *Wall Street Journal* agreed with Galbraith. The latter said that political appointees, "in tune with an elected president, often do make the best ambassadors," and claimed that this ambassador had been prescient about, if not responsible for, French President Mitterand's "seeing the light" and kicking out the Communists and for ending arms sales to the Sandinista regime.

Secretary Shultz, on the other hand, was apparently outraged. "It's a very distressing thing to have an American ambassador assault our Foreign Service people who are sitting on the front lines to defend our country," said Shultz. "When he says 'it takes the guts out of people,' somebody ought to tie his tongue for him." AFSA, too, objected, saying that "officers can have the courage to argue their convictions and the loyalty to vigorously carry out their instructions."

Galbraith immediately claimed that the *Times* article was "misleading" and didn't represent his views. Rather than gutless, he said that "the Foreign Service is devoted to duty, competent, and courageous. I have been particularly well served in Paris by a group of exceptionally well-qualified people who have made efforts above and beyond their normal duties to support me and the president's foreign policy with enthusiasm and skill."

In a cable to Shultz, Galbraith apologized for "any discomfort" the article had caused and quoted an interview with Lawrence Eagleburger in the November issue of the JOURNAL, in which the former under secretary for political affairs had said that "guts, in my view, is a quality hard to find in the Foreign Service, partly because we've beaten it out of people over time." Galbraith said he had just been referring to the interview when he spoke to the *Times*.

"In fact, Ambassador Galbraith and I were talking about quite different things," Eagleburger told the JOURNAL last month. "I was saying it is important to have guts—and I defined it. I also made it clear it was telling your superiors what you thought, but Ambassador Galbraith is talking about something quite different. He is not prepared to accept discussion from subordinates.

"I resent the hell out of his using what I said to defend what he said," Eagleburger continued. "I did not say nor do I think that there are no Foreign Service officers with guts. In fact, as I said in the interview, particularly in the new generation of officers, there is a growing willingness to advance controversial views."

Galbraith responded to Eagleburger's criticism with tongue in cheek. "When Mr. Eagleburger says, 'He is not prepared to accept discussion,' " he told the JOURNAL, "he must be talking about Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith. It can't be me. I was weaned on discussion." Galbraith went on to lament that there is much discussion of the qualifications of political ambassadors, "but if one discusses the qualifications of career ambassadors, all hell breaks loose." He suggested a debate on the issue of ambassadorial quality and challenged Eagleburger to a duel: "Choose your weapon, Mr. Eagleburger. What'll it be, cookies at ten paces?" Galbraith attempted to tone down his remarks—which had been issued as a formal statement for the record—the next day.

FSI to Move?

The Army is bugging out of its Arlington Hall facility in 1988, and the Foreign Service Institute hopes to move into the vacated site, establishing at long last a true campus for the training school now crammed into four buildings in Rosslyn. If Congress approves of the plan, contained in the State Department authorization bill for fiscal years 1986 and 1987, FSI plans to raze the existing buildings on the 75-acre site and construct a new facility that could become the eventual centerpiece of a national foreign affairs training center akin to the war colleges.

FSI has been in its current site since 1966, and it has been hindered in adding students and programs by facilities designed for business purposes, not educational use. "We're stymied on expansion," FSI Executive Director Frank Ravndal told the JOURNAL. Under the plan, GSA would take possession of the site and sell it to State for at least $6 million, according to Ravndal. After State razes the existing structures, it would construct a 400,000 square foot building at a cost of approximately $40 million. Plans for the building are not yet final.

In addition to permitting expansion, the move will give FSI "a sense of place," Ravndal said. "We won't be just in some leased space, we will have a real training facility, like the military. Remember, Foreign Service employees come back here several times during their career. Now they'll have a place to call home."

In travel time, the new facility will be the same distance from the State Department—about ten minutes. Located on Route 50 at Glebe Road in Arlington, it is slightly farther away, but the shuttle will make the trip in the same time because it will need to make fewer stops.

The plan has been strongly supported by Secretary Shultz, Under Secretary for Management Ronald Spiers, and Counselor Edward Derwinski.

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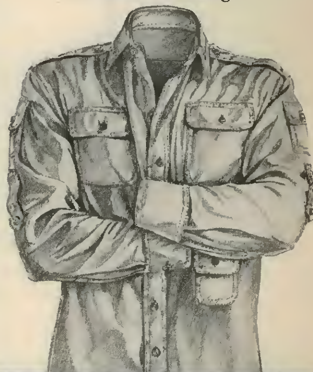

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Troops advance behind a tank during 1973 attack on the presidential palace (right) that toppled Chilean President Salvador Allende (above). Allende found himself caught between the left's desire for reform and the military's determination to resist it.

ALLENDE'S ALTERNATIVES

The president's inability to choose which path Chile should follow led to his inevitable downfall

NATHANIEL DAVIS

THE AMERICAN NOTION that our actions and policies largely determine world events has led us to exaggerate our role in the fall of Salvador Allende's government in 1973. While the indictment of our government in Chile's tragedy was not created out of nothing, it has been amplified beyond reality. Moreover, the explanation for U.S. assistance to the Chilean opposition has been glossed over. The media and parties that did not support Allende's Unidad Popular coalition would probably not have lasted on their own, and institutional democracy in Chile could not have long survived their extinction.

Covert action, however, was not the sum of our relations with Chile, and a few reflections about other aspects of our policy are in order. During the Allende time, parallels with the Cuban situation of 1959–60 were haunting. The United States, after a brief period of attempting to maintain correct relations with the new Cuban regime, imposed sanctions on oil and sugar. As Philip W. Bonsal, the U.S. ambassador in Havana, describes it in his memoirs, *Cuba, Castro, and the United States*, the United States "confronted Castro":

> The U.S. government measures...went far beyond the retaliation warranted....Measured American responses might have appeared well deserved to an increasing number of Cubans, thus strengthening Cuban opposition to the regime instead of, as was the case, greatly stimulating revolutionary fervor....Until July 1960, the Moscow bureaucrats advised Castro to proceed with moderation in his dealings with Washington....The Soviet Union [now] had the choice of furnishing the oil Cuba needed and buying the sugar Cuba had formerly sold to the United States or of letting the Cuban revolution perish....The reluctant and cautious Russians had been forced into the revolution's own warmly welcoming arms by the drastic actions of the Americans.

Whatever the faults of U.S. policy toward Allende's Chile, the United States avoided repeating some of

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Nathaniel Davis was ambassador to Chile, 1971–73. He also served as chief of mission in Bulgaria, Guatemala, and Switzerland, director general of the Foreign Service, assistant secretary for Africa, and senior NSC staffer for the U.S.S.R. This article is excerpted from The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende, *by Nathaniel Davis, to be published in May by Cornell University Press.* *© 1985 by Cornell University.*

the mistakes Bonsal describes with respect to Cuba. The U.S. government did not drive the Chileans into reluctant Soviet arms; it did not force the Soviets into a massive countercommitment; and it did not push the Chilean armed forces into dependence on Soviet military assistance and supply. The cool and correct U.S. public stance toward Chile was consciously designed to avoid giving Allende a foreign target that would help him rally domestic loyalties and mobilize international support. U.S. policy was largely successful in this regard. In contrast to what happened in Cuba, the United States did not become a Great Satan in the eyes of the Chilean people.

There is a problem, of course, in pursuing this line of argument. Since Chilean institutional democracy was swept away in the 1973 coup, an assumption that U.S. policy toward Allende's Chile was wiser than it was toward Cuba must rest upon a judgment that the current junta is preferable to a Castroite government. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, outgoing U.S. representative to the United Nations, has become the high priestess of this belief, with her famous distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes and her reminders that Soviet backing of Marxist regimes makes leftist takeovers irreversible. Nevertheless, one does not have to be a friend of rightist tyrannies to prefer a nondemocratic regime not closely tied to the U.S.S.R. to one that is, especially in the Western Hemisphere. Cuba's current orientation matters to the United States because of the Soviet brigade and the electronic marvels there, and because of the MIGs and submarines. There is also, of course, the lingering memory of offensive missiles and the current presence of defensive ones, and an awareness of all the other possibilities and dangers that Cuba and its exportation of revolution pose. It is not shameful for U.S. foreign policy to be concerned about these things.

This is not to say that I agree with Kirkpatrick. To me, she seems to elevate expediency to the level of principle and raise Hobson's choice to the plane of an ideological revelation. The world is full of tyrants with whom we must live and deal, and we move through a jungle of realities in the dark of night. At the same time, as the columnist Walter Lippmann once said, "The American conscience is a reality. It will make hesitant and ineffectual, even if it does not prevent, an un-American policy." Ever since this republic was founded we have needed both *realpolitik* and *idealpolitik*. We require a foreign policy somewhere between Henry Kissinger's and Jimmy Carter's. We also need a decent sense of the fitness of things, so we do not go around embracing dictators and congratulating oppressors on their occasional or nonexistent benevolent policies.

We should also remember that the actions of Chile's current military regime against the Christian Democrats and other moderates may be playing into the hands of the leftist extremists. Sooner or later, Pinochet and his associates must leave the scene. But the junta's blows against Chile's democratic political forces may ultimately create a wasteland into which the Marxists can advance all too easily. As a friend recently wrote from Chile:

> What makes me feel pessimistic is that we all know how an extreme rightist dictatorship here will end. It will generate perfect conditions for an extreme leftist reaction. The Marxists will find a country with no solidly based political parties, free trade unions, student organizations, and community centers. These were the main obstacles to Marxist consolidation in 1970. The junta is destroying Chile's social fabric without putting anything in its place. Soon Chile's sense of community will be reduced to dust, and then the communists will find perfect conditions to put their own organizations in place. Rightist dictators hate the moderate center more than they do the Marxist left. They feel the need to eliminate the democratic forces to justify their own indispensability against the communist threat. Both extremes need each other. This government is a kind of free gift to the Marxists....The risks increase with every year.

Covert action was not the sum of our relations with Chile. Whatever the faults of U.S. policy, we avoided repeating the mistakes we made with Cuba

WHILE PRESIDENT NIXON and Secretary of State Kissinger have been rightly blamed for the dissembling that characterized our "correct" outward posture when we were pursuing inimical policies in secret, they also deserve the lion's share of the credit for successfully avoiding the follies that characterized our Cuban policy. Whatever his blind spots, Nixon learned a lot in the years after Fidel Castro's ill-fated 1959 visit to Washington, which some critics considered an unnecessary rebuff. Kissinger also had a clear understanding of our need to avoid provocations that might enable Allende to rally domestic and international support. Additionally, I believe that our approach toward Chile had an element of genuine goodwill because of the presence in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs of Assistant Secretary Charles A. Meyer. He introduced courtesy and humanity into a policy that otherwise might have been more repellingly calculating than it was. It was also he who kept an ambassador in Santiago rather than resort to the empty gesture that resulted in the withdrawal of Bonsal from Havana. Meyer's successor, Jack Kubisch, had similar instincts.

As far as my own contribution is concerned, I was reasonably low-key. At least I did not produce the type of confrontation we achieved with Juan Perón in Argentina in 1945. My colleagues and I tried to maintain decent, friendly relations with the Chilean leaders, on both the personal and the official levels. This effort required no spirit of deviousness on my part. I liked Salvador Allende, most of his colleagues, and the Chileans. My family and I were happy in Chile. I carried out my instructions and advised Washington straightforwardly and, I hope, professionally. At the same time, I did not hope for Allende's downfall. I tried to solve problems and reduce differences, not create them, and to bring about a better relationship between Allende's government and the United States.

As must be evident, I was a slightly incongruous chosen instrument for Nixon's Chilean policy. I did not see the world as the president and his adviser saw it. Neither they nor I were as aware of this fact as we later became, although I had not deceived anybody. My record of service with Sargent Shriver in the Peace Corps, teaching at Howard University, and working

We should remember that the actions of Chile's current military regime against moderates may be playing into the hands of the leftist extremists

in Lyndon Johnson's White House was unconcealed. By instinct and conviction, Meyer, Kubisch, and I, as well as many others in Washington and at the embassy, represented and upheld the openly declared nonhostile side of the president's policy and worked in private, as well as in public, to achieve purposes consistent with it.

When Allende assumed power with the Unidad Popular coalition, he had one great choice. He could follow the path that led to a showdown with the forces of reaction or he could follow the so-called Chilean Way, which sought to achieve socialism through institutional means. Paul M. Sweezy, editor of the Marxist *Monthly Review* in New York, put the choice cogently in a piece he wrote in December 1971. Noting that Allende's program during his first year had remained within the bounds of capitalism, Sweezy defined Allende's alternatives as to advance or to consolidate, to move forward to real socialism or to subside into social democracy of the Western European type. If he did the former, the army might well decide to step in. If he did the latter, he could complete his term.

Late in the game, in July 1973, Castro wrote Allende a final letter. Conceding the value of playing for time "to improve the correlation of forces in case battle should break out," Castro admonished Allende not to forget the "formidable strength of the Chilean working class" that "can, at your call, with the revolution in peril, paralyze the coup plotters, bind the vacillators to you," and decide Chile's destiny at a blow. "The enemy should know," Castro wrote, that the workers stand ready for action, and their "combat readiness can tip the balance.... Your decision" to pay "with your life if necessary" to maintain the advance toward socialism will "bring to your side" all forces "capable of combat." The key to the situation is "your courage, your calm, and your audacity."

But it was probably too late by then for the workers to grasp total power by force of arms. Even earlier in Allende's regime, Castro's prescription would have required a systematic purge of the Chilean officer corps, intensive infiltration of military ranks, sustained development of leftist paramilitary forces, and massive programs to arm them. All these measures were attempted, but belatedly and ambivalently. Allende never made up his mind, and he may not have realized when Chile passed the last fork in the road, after which revolutionary battle was effectively foreclosed.

Then there was the second choice—true pursuit of the Chilean Way. This would have meant observing the constitution, carefully adhering to democratic institutionalism, and seriously entering into political bargains and consistently maintaining them. It would have required compromises with the opposition and the building of genuine political alliances outside the Unidad Popular coalition. As Sweezy feared, it might have resulted in "social democracy of the Western European type." On the other hand, while the march toward socialism would surely have slowed, it might not have stalled. Allende might have been able to hold to his original vision.

Allende did not decisively choose this path, either. His tragedy may have been that, beset by immediate imperatives and complications, he ended up meandering in the wilderness between his two great alternatives. The golden mean is sometimes not a good rule for a statesman—he or she may be better off making a decisive choice. It is sometimes true, in fact, that either of two clear paths, if followed consistently, can lead to its own kind of success. Allende perpetually seemed to be turning to the left, the right, doubling back, and marching forward as he came upon an endless succession of diverging roads. When his ultraleftist allies challenged his fidelity to revolutionary ideals, his instinct led him to go left and prove himself. When he became convinced that accommodation of the opposition parties or the military was necessary to preserve his government and the Chilean Way, he turned right. His vacillation was all too often seen as dissembling, his reversals as betrayals, and his compromises as weaknesses.

THERE WERE HALF A DOZEN forks in the road where Allende, turning left, distanced himself from the Chilean Way. Ultimately, he found the terrain he would have to cross to rejoin that high road impassable. First, in October 1970, his fingers were figuratively crossed behind his back when he signed the Statute of Democratic Guarantees. His action was probably not as cynical as his confidant, Régis Debray, represented it to be, when Debray quoted Allende as saying that he had only signed the guarantees as a tactical necessity to gain power. By the same token, however, Allende did not assume a serious, continuing commitment to the statute's provisions, particularly when their observance would be inexpedient, painful, and politically costly within his governing coalition. This attitude made the alienation of all political currents in the Christian Democratic party ultimately unavoidable.

Second, by October 1971, the Chilean economy had slid visibly out of control, but Allende did not take effective countermeasures for many months. He allowed Pedro Vuskovic, minister of economy, to pursue the social restructuring of the economy at the cost of a downward slide. At the same time, Allende allowed Minister of Agriculture Jacques Chonchol to attempt the radical social transformation of the countryside, with similarly negative economic results. Vuskovic was subsequently removed and Chonchol resigned, perhaps foreclosing the possibility that their extremist solutions might have "defanged" reactionary power. Thus, Allende did not take either road.

Third, Allende failed in his January 1972 attempt to gain an opening to the political center. He allowed the left extremists in his coalition to block the appointment to the cabinet of eminent political independents who were friendly to the UP and willing to serve. He briefly succeeded in bringing the Radical Left Party into the government, but then let his own Socialist Party's secretary general, Carlos Altamirano, push him into repudiating a Radical Left minister's compromise agreements with the Christian Democrats. As a result, the Radical Left Party was driven into embittered opposition, and Allende was locked into a permanently closed, minority government.

Fourth, Allende and his ministers dallied with the Christian Democrats in negotiations on nationalization policy. The president remained unwilling to make the substantive concessions necessary for a bargain. In June 1972 the two sides came close to a negotiated agreement, but differences over the government's attempt to buy a controlling interest in the Papelera paper and newsprint company and rules to curb politically motivated factory interventions could not be surmounted. Even in mid-1973, during spasmodic, last-ditch negotiations with the Christian Democrats, the president was unwilling to define nationalization policy in a manner that could lead to a settlement.

Fifth, even as Allende pushed the military heirarchs into active politics and government responsibilities, he neutralized their influence and pressed forward with policies they could not support. While mutual suspicions grew, Allende surreptitiously but half-heartedly encouraged the arming of the workers, violating the armed forces' constitutional monopoly over the use and possession of arms. He then allowed the continuity of top military command to be broken and undermined the integrity of subordinate commands, without ensuring that the changes favored his own ability to govern. His ambivalence left him without a clear position toward military and paramilitary groups.

Finally, throughout his presidency, Allende failed to impose discipline on his own coalition. He maneuvered Altamirano's election as secretary general of the Socialist Party in 1971, and then tolerated and sometimes even supported Altamirano's leftist extremism in the ensuing years; he briefly assigned to Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda the task of curbing Socialist indiscipline in 1973, only to reverse course shortly thereafter; and when the coup intervened, he was toying with the idea of forcing a showdown with Altamirano. Never did he face up to the problem of disarray in Unidad Popular. The left extremists pursued their own purposes without being effectively constrained. Militant UP officials and appointed government authorities systematically bent or broke the constitution and the laws. Government by legerdemain and loophole ultimately made inevitable the repudiation of the UP government by the Supreme Court, the Chamber of Deputies, and the Comptroller General.

The fault was not all Allende's, of course. There was blame enough for everybody. Significant sectors of the opposition were also guilty of bad faith and even subversive intent, destructive economic activity and dishonest use of the media, sabotage and terrorism, and undermining the social foundations of Chilean society.

A CASE CAN BE MADE that Allende's Chilean experiment could not possibly have succeeded. Americans have a tendency to think that all problems have solutions. In other societies less blessed than the United States, political philosophers may better understand that in some situations no possibility of a favorable outcome may exist. After 1970, neither the achievement of socialism through institutional means nor a democratic transfer of power in the scheduled 1976 presidential elections may have been possible. From the start the alternatives facing Chile may have been a leftist tyranny on the Cuban model or a military government of the Pinochet type.

I cannot accept this conclusion, perhaps because I instinctively reject such preordained afflictions and gloomy probabilities. It is true that the Chilean Way led across a sea of troubles. The road was at first high and broad, but was progressively eaten away by turbulent waters, with waves of leftist assaults and UP folly undermining one bank as rightist attacks washed at the other. The causeway became narrower and more treacherous, and the prospect ahead more obscure. By the early months of 1973, thinking people could not help but see that the constitutional road to 1976 was crumbling. Nevertheless, Allende and his trusted collaborators could have made wiser decisions. Had they been more resolute, consistent, and farsighted, they could have realized the need for a clear choice of policy and made the essential commitments. It might have been somewhat painful, but it would not have been impossible.

This matters because it is important that hopes of social transformation through democracy and law be kept alive, if possible, across the spectrum of the left. The Chilean Way was the highest expression we have yet seen of central-core Marxists trying to follow the peaceful road to socialism. Socialism may not be the best or even a good way to order a society's affairs, but the ability of free citizens to *choose* socialism, or capitalism, or some other economic system, is beyond price. There are too many people who share Allende's socialist convictions for democrats to abandon the field to armed men who preach bloody revolution as the only road to social justice. Too many of the world's people live out their lives in the dust of poverty, hunger, sickness, ignorance, and oppression for democratic socialists to facilitate the task of the totalitarians of the left. It should not be necessary for those who shared Salvador Allende's dream to accept the secret policeman's boot on the stairs at night as a necessary price for the achievement of their economic and social values. If the possibility of a Chilean Way should be decisively ruled out for the world's leftists, we would all have reason to be sorry.

Chile is an extraordinary land occupied by an immensely talented people. Sooner or later, I believe, democratic institutions will return there and a sound constitution will again buttress a rule of law in that country. I nurture a faith that economic prosperity, equity, and justice will increase, that the Chilean armed forces will become, once again, the protectors of the democratic political order, and that the sound of untrammeled politics will again be heard in that land. Salvador Allende will find his rightful place in Chilean history, honored for his spirit, his vision, and his aspiration. Augusto Pinochet and his military colleagues are also part of Chile's history, and patriots in the eyes of many of their countrymen. And, the voice of Allende's predecessor, Eduardo Frei, will also be heard, his path of Christian community followed, and his memory honored. Chile's future is not altogether dark, nor is its light of hope extinguished. □

There were half a dozen forks in the road where Allende turned left from the Chilean Way, making the terrain to return to that high road impassable

PUBLICS & POLICY

USIA's ability to persuade does have limits, but the agency could contribute more to policymaking

DAVID I. HITCHCOCK JR.

IN THIS WORLD of advanced communications and growing audiences, public diplomacy has gained new importance. In many countries, including the United States, governments are increasing resources for this aspect of their foreign relations. In fiscal year 1985, USIA has $796.4 million to devote to this activity, 74 percent more than in fiscal 1981. Clearly, support for this dimension of our foreign affairs has grown on Capitol Hill and in the White House. The importance of public diplomacy also appears to be more widely appreciated within our embassies abroad.

This generally favorable climate for public diplomacy makes it all the more important that we fully understand how USIA can further advance U.S. policy. At the same time, we need to be aware of the limitations facing public diplomacy as it seeks to obtain the support of foreign publics for U.S. actions and statements. Differing views of what the agency should accomplish remain, but these can be reconciled as long as the goals remain realistic. And, while the agency's role in foreign affairs has clearly grown, there is more it could contribute, especially to the planning of effective foreign policy.

Most everyone can agree on the basic functions of USIA: explaining the U.S. government's policies to foreign audiences; providing them with information about, or opportunities to experience, our society and culture; and advising U.S. ambassadors and Washington agencies on public attitudes abroad. But beyond this point, opinions about public diplomacy have frequently diverged. Some, especially during the cold war, have seen the achievement of short-term foreign policy objectives as the heart of public diplomacy and USIA as the principal weapon. To them, the "softer" cultural programs were decorations around more important political messages. Others, more interested in academic and cultural exchanges, have opposed any allegedly propagandistic effort to persuade publics on specific policy issues. They believed that such activity would threaten the integrity of exchanges and contradict the very principles of openness and free choice that the United States should reflect abroad. As Frank Ninkovich points out in *The Diplomacy of Ideas*, they preferred to "trust in the transcultural capacity of ideas to hasten the arrival of a generalized understanding." This conflict over purpose and function has existed since the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 established a peacetime overseas information program and is usually seen in the debate over separating information and cultural activities.

Today, most practitioners of public diplomacy would argue that any attempt to divide these functions would be impractical, if not impossible. Academic exchanges and press relations have been handled by the same embassy offices from the beginning, and for the last five years, they have been under the direction of the same Washington agency. The supervision of information programs—even those with specific goals—need not conflict with the management of purely academic Fulbright scholarships, as long as the official purposes are within the bounds of what is realistically possible.

There are limits to what can be achieved with government-sponsored information and cultural activities, especially if one seeks to persuade publics to support U.S. policies in the short run. Those who have spent their lives studying communications make the need for caution and modest ambitions quite clear. These specialists profess no final conclusions, but their findings so far include the following:

—"it is quite difficult to produce an enduring attitude change by exposing people to a persuasive communication" (Richard Petty and John Cacippo, *Attitudes and Persuasion*);

—"people tend to maintain their images and beliefs in the face of discrepant information" (Robert Jervis, *Attitude Change*);

—"international persuasion is more feasible when it operates upon existing predispositions in the foreign audience" (Daniel Lerner, *The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, November 1971);

—"although laboratory studies show that propaganda has some effect on individuals, sociological studies in the field show more often that communications reinforce the audience's previous positions, rather than converting them to a different view" (Everett Rogers, *Handbook of Communication*);

—"in relatively open societies, at least 90 percent of credited information originates from non-governmental sources, and more than 50 percent in more tightly controlled societies" (John Martin, *The Annals*).

David I. Hitchcock Jr., a career minister and deputy associate director for management at USIA, wrote this article while a diplomat-in-residence at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies last fall. The views expressed are the author's and do not necessarily reflect those of the agency or the federal government.

And, for those who have stressed the special importance of persuading opinion leaders, William McGuire cautions in the *Handbook of Communications* that "There is some evidence that the more a person acts publicly on his [or her] belief, the greater the resistance to counter-communications." McGuire also warns those who would emphasize the persuasiveness of mass media over interpersonal contact that "there are some indications that opinion leaders obtain messages from channels other than mass media." For although "mass media can effectively change cognitions [that is, increase knowledge] interpersonal communication is more likely to be effective when attitude change is the goal of the source."

YET, THOUGH USIA may not be able to change foreign opinion so easily, all is not lost. McGuire also observes that although "various formulations...depict education as a benign process and persuasion as a rather unsavory one,...there are many gradations between the two poles where a given communication might fall....Any communication factor that enhanced learning would tend to enhance attitude change." If we take the results of this research seriously, we will surely find room for the hawks and doves of information and culture to live together. Of course, USIA, State, and other government agencies should design their overseas information activities to support U.S. foreign policy; the experts are not arguing that advocacy goals should be eschewed, nor that efforts to convince others of the wisdom of our cause are in vain. What they are telling us is that these activities will not usually show dramatic results in short order, even if the particular message is repeated. This will be especially true if we rely on the mass media without using personal contact as a reinforcement. We must remember that no matter how effective our various messages may be, they represent a rather small percentage of all the information to which foreign audiences are exposed, much of which will be more in tune with their opinions than with our own.

But if public diplomacy is not likely to turn opinions around in the short-term, carefully planned information and cultural programs can serve other important goals. For example, inaccurate information can be corrected or prevented from becoming the basis of foreign news reports or commentary; opinion leaders can be provided with new information and fresh ideas about the United States; foreign leaders can be invited to "see for themselves," through visits to the United States; and journalists, officials, academics, and businessmen can be brought together with traveling U.S. experts for in-depth discussions.

USIA officers have learned a lot about arranging productive interaction between influential foreign audiences and U.S. specialists or officials. The results can be a sharp awakening—as when Japan's top business leaders gathered in the USIS center in Tokyo to hear then Treasury Secretary Donald Regan urge more rapid Japanese liberalization of their currency and financial institutions. Similarly, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was able to make a direct appeal for more cooperation when discussing Pacific defense needs with Japanese experts via satellite in a program seen by over ten million Japanese. Developing new approaches to overcoming different perceptions can sometimes be especially important. Last July, in what probably was the first Japanese seminar on deterrence, some leading U.S. researchers, together with one of the Japanese government's top strategic thinkers, offered a distinguished group of journalists their thinking on that strategy. Although deterrence is a fundamental premise to U.S. defense policy, many Japanese do not give it close attention when drawing conclusions about their own defense efforts. Such vitally important issues are just as much the meat of USIA activities abroad as are efforts to expand the study of the United States in Israeli universities, deepen appreciation of American sculpture and modern dance through opportunities to meet with Louise Nevelson and Twyla Tharp, or compare notes on approaches to problems of the elderly or urban renewal. Even the sharing of ideas on subjects of mutual interest can help strengthen our foreign relations.

Yugoslavs reach for new magazine at USIS information center. The agency's roles of providing information and seeking to persuade foreign publics are not in conflict if their limitations are accepted.

These are examples of public diplomacy in action. They will not turn people's opinions around overnight, but they will provide new information, deepen awareness of U.S. views, and, in some cases, point those who have participated down somewhat different paths of thought and attitude than would otherwise have been the case. As Kenneth Adelman, now director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, put it in a 1981 article in *Foreign Affairs,* public diplomacy "helps create a climate of opinion in which American policies can be successfully formulated, executed, and accepted." The value of such efforts can hardly be overestimated. As public opinion increasingly affects foreign policy, they are becoming as much the stuff of diplomacy as bilateral negotiations.

An overseas cultural and information program that is based on a realistic understanding of its limitations

as well as its potential is worthy of support from the most ambitious as well as the most skeptical. Few fair-minded observers should be able to discern any real conflict between USIA's cultural exchanges and its more specific information efforts. Both are essentially educational, but both can—in different ways and at different paces—promote the foreign policy interests of the United States.

Overshadowed by this debate has been another important function of USIA—that of providing advice to U.S. policymakers. Efforts to establish and communicate policies will come to nought unless they are based on some understanding of the target audience. If policy is to succeed, there must be some awareness of how foreign publics are likely to react. Yet, decision-makers rarely consult with those who have this information—such as USIA employees.

Every postwar report on U.S. overseas information and cultural programs has included as one of USIA's functions the deepening of American understanding of foreign cultures and opinions. The Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 specifically mentioned this role, and it was reiterated when President Eisenhower established USIA as a separate agency in 1953. Later descriptions of this function distinguish between helping the American public to understand foreign cultures, and advising the president and other officials on the implications of foreign opinion for U.S. policies and programs.

The role of advising the public was spelled out most completely in 1978, when the State Department's Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs was transferred to a revamped agency, taking with it a variety of exchange programs. Since then, USIA has helped improve American understanding of foreign cultures by inviting thousands of foreign leaders to observe the United States and meet Americans and by arranging for many more foreign students and scholars to come here through the Fulbright program. Giving grants to private U.S. groups that sponsor international cultural projects also encourages understanding. To what extent USIA could go beyond these programs to help Americans become better acquainted with the world around them is debatable; indeed, some observers frankly oppose such a role for the agency.

But no matter how far one believes USIA should go to deepen American awareness of other countries, there has been little disagreement that it should help the *government* better understand the attitudes of foreign publics. Furthermore, there is considerable agreement that this role is still not fully recognized or effective, although important progress has been made. In its 1984 *Report to Congress and the President,* the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy welcomed National Security Decision Directive 77, which established a Special Planning Group to direct and coordinate a variety of government public diplomacy activities. The report also found encouraging the national security adviser's organization of the Foreign Opinion Research Advisory Committee to commission and coordinate studies of foreign opinion. Along with these important steps, the commission suggests another improvement:

> Foreign cultures, attitudes, and opinions must routinely be taken into account in *formulating* U.S. foreign policy. A close reading of NSDD 77 reveals no intent to accord USIA a regular advisory role in the making of foreign policy. And from what we have been told...USIA is still rarely afforded the opportunity to participate in an advisory capacity when policies are being developed. The agency's specialized knowledge and understanding of foreign cultures and attitudes, and its ability to survey attitudinal trends and measure foreign public opinion remain a sadly underutilized resource of our government....To our knowledge, USIA has rarely been a participant in those councils or interdepartmental groups where new policies or options are developed.

Neither in the commission report nor elsewhere has there been an adequate explanation of what USIA might be able to add to the foreign policymaking councils of the government. Usually, the agency's role is simply described as advising on foreign public opinion. While briefings on poll data can contribute to foreign policy formulation, there does not seem to be enough interaction between polling analysts and actual decision-makers. Polling information is not the only contribution USIA can make to policy. Planners and decision-makers should have a much clearer understanding of the cultural backdrop to foreign attitudes toward the United States. They should have a more specific picture of those factors likely to influence public reaction abroad and a better understanding of possible ways of explaining our policies. As Jervis explains: "Both to interpret others' behavior and to design one's own behavior so that others will draw the desired conclusions from it, the actor must try to see the world the way the other sees it." We need to have a better grasp not only of current attitudes, but also of the factors that will shape future perceptions. Glen Fisher notes in *American Communication:*

> Consciously or not, one will attribute motives for what the other person does or says....We 'read in' a frame of reference or motive that makes the message or behavior seem consistent and fit into a pattern of our experience. However, if the other actor is from another culture, or is speaking for a foreign organization or government, the chance of misattribution of motive is one of the international community's most severe impediments to problem solving.

Only if we possess a fuller, deeper understanding of the context in which audiences overseas are likely to react, now and in the future, will we be able to help ensure, as former ambassador William Sullivan has written in the *Fletcher Forum,* "that public reaction reinforces rather than hinders official action being prepared or even contemplated."

Strengthening this aspect of public diplomacy should be a high priority. Happily, steps can be taken that would not involve organizational surgery or much bureaucratic disruption. There would, however, have to be some adjustment in the outlook of some officials. USIA officers in key posts would be required to play a more active role as reporters. This would be a substantial change, since, although there are excep-

tions, most embassy public affairs officers rarely provide USIA in Washington, much less the State Department, with the kind of attitudinal analysis that would be useful in formulating policy. Indeed, such reporting is not normally required, except perhaps in the periodic reports of program activity and progress that are sent to the agency in Washington. With few exceptions, these communications are not available to State. Nor would they fully meet the requirement described above.

Attitudes in Washington would also need to change; if USIA officers were to provide regularly the right kind of perceptive reporting, State Department officers in Washington and abroad would have to give it greater attention. As Sullivan has written:

> For most senior American practitioners of diplomacy, the public aspects of policy are usually an afterthought....It will take a major reorientation of attitudes among our professional as well as our political diplomats to institute a practice that considers the public dimension of a foreign policy issue a major part of its solution rather than another piece of the problem.

THIS DESCRIPTION of current practices may be drawing too dark a picture. But all too often, State Department consideration of foreign reaction is limited to the urgent matters of the day, or is dependent on the personal interests of the policy planners. What is needed is some structural reinforcement, at various levels and in various councils. The policymaking process should be organized to ensure full consideration of the impact an American decision, policy, or official visit may have in a particular cultural and psychological context overseas. It should also ensure that the probable public reaction to different ways of presenting a policy or event is taken into account, so that the best possible approach to publics abroad can be planned. Finally, it should incorporate these steps into the decision-making process at its genesis. The planning of presidential visits abroad already includes much of this, with USIA field posts required to analyze the psychological climate in the country to be visited and suggest themes that should be included or avoided in any presidential public statements. A similar exercise is not required for other visits by senior officials, however, even though it would be valuable.

To help make sure that the public diplomacy implications are taken into account both at the beginning of policy planning and along the way to final implementation, a "public diplomacy adviser" should be posted in a variety of relevant agencies and offices. At least in the beginning, it would make sense to fill these positions with senior USIA officials. Although experienced USIA employees have occasionally been assigned to the departments of State and Defense, as well as to the National Security Council staff, such postings have been neither regular nor intended to meet this specific need. At present, for example, there is no USIA officer on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, at NSC, Commerce, or Treasury. Nor has the agency participated regularly in State's Senior Interdepartmental Group meetings or in many of the working-level interdepartmental-group meetings. An agency officer does generally represent USIA at Defense, however. And some of State's geographic bureaus have agency personnel in public affairs positions, but they are usually too busy preparing for the department's daily press briefing and handling other immediate chores to contribute to long-range policy planning. If, however, departments and offices were staffed with public diplomacy advisers, the result might well be more effective agency participation in policymaking, from the initial drafting of planning papers to deliberations within the NSC, as recommended in the Advisory Commission's 1983 report. This could well lead to better policy formulation.

Under the Reagan administration, awareness of USIA's importance has undeniably increased. The agency's directorate and senior officials have better access to the top levels of government throughout Washington than ever before. White House officials have been receptive to its advice on numerous issues and have especially appreciated its efforts to explain U.S. policies abroad. Given this sympathetic environment, agency efforts to introduce consideration of foreign cultural contexts and the likely impact of alternative U.S. approaches may well be sincerely welcomed. Even now, an executive committee of the Special Policy Group meets weekly with USIA in attendance, and the agency actually chairs the SPG's International Information Committee, which is responsible for planning, coordinating, and implementing international information activities in support of U.S. policies. Thus, to an encouraging extent, the structure is already in place. What is needed is to pay greater attention to achieving the best possible foreign reaction to future U.S. moves. Policy planners throughout the foreign affairs agencies will need to assess more thoroughly public opinion overseas and the cultural context in which that opinion is formed. It will be largely up to USIA to provide this dimension to the policymaking process on a much more regular and substantive basis. □

Bolivians read USIS handout on new U.S. assistance program. Agency efforts to introduce consideration of foreign cultural contexts and the likely impact of alternative policies should be welcomed.

Raising the Voice

Continued high levels of funding are necessary for VOA if the United States is to become more competitive in international broadcasting

STEPHEN TELKINS

"I value VOA newscasts because they are given without delay. In a number of cases we learn from you about developments in Poland sooner than we learn from the Polish news media."
—Polish Service listener

"I have tried all frequencies you advertise so as to be able to hear you better, but most of the time Radio Cuba comes in so strongly that no one else can be heard."
—Spanish Service listener in El Salvador

"I like to listen to VOA for its inreresting programs and news reports....Listening to the Voice of America is one of the most important things in my daily life."
—Chinese Service listener in Canton

"We are concerned because for the last seven days we have not been able to tune your program in on any of your meter bands."
—Hausa Service listener in Nigeria

COMMENTS FROM LISTENER MAIL are just part of the substantial evidence demonstrating both the effectiveness of Voice of America programs and a frustrating inability to be consistently heard. Today the VOA is moving to end this frustration through a comprehensive modernization program. Its objective is to provide a clear, audible signal to listeners throughout the world with new and expanded transmitting facilities and language services.

The program is now underway, but the challenges VOA faces in implementing it mean that completion is still five or more years away. These challenges include obtaining the necessary funding from Congress and recruiting people with specialized skills: systems engineers to design new transmitters and antenna arrays, for instance, or project engineers to construct new overseas relay stations and radio broadcasters skilled in specific languages. VOA employs such people already, but it needs more of them to succeed in today's highly competitive international broadcasting arena.

The need to strengthen America's overseas radio voice was recognized years ago. Various presidents and members of Congress called for VOA to be better heard on airwaves that had become increasingly crowded by scores of other international broadcasters. In the end, unfortunately, they were content to maintain the Voice's broadcasts and equipment at modest levels because of other budget priorities.

President Reagan's consistent advocacy of a revitalized Voice and bipartisan congressional support, however, have made a difference. National Security Council decision directives have transformed into policy the administration's intention to make America's overseas radio voice commensurate with its influence and role in world affairs. For the first time in years, VOA is beginning to receive the funding that will make it truly competitive. Its appropriation for radio construction, for instance, went up 274 percent in fiscal year 1985, to a total of $85 million. This is just the first of several increases that are required to carry out technical and program modernization.

The president's support for VOA has been vocal and visible. In July 1982, Reagan announced that:

> We intend to move forward consistent with budgetary requirements with a program to modernize our primary means of international communication, our internarional radio system....the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty have been neglected for many years. Their equipment is old and deteriorating, their program resources strained. Lirtle has been done to counter the jamming that has intensified in recenr years.

Then, at a White House ceremony in March 1984 to sign a new VOA agreement with Morocco, the president emphasized that:

> The Voice of America has been a strong voice for truth. Despite problems of antiquated equipment and Sovier jamming, the Voice of America has been able ro spread its message of rruth around the world. Were it not for many years of neglect, the Voice of America could be heard more clearly by many more people around the globe. And rhat's why our administration has made the same kind of commitment to modernizing the Voice of America that President Eisenhower and President Kennedy brought to the space program.

In between his two statements, Mr. Reagan went to VOA's Washington studios to deliver a radio address transmitted live to the U.S.S.R. and other parts of the world in various languages. His appearance was only the second such visit to VOA by a U.S. president; the first was by Dwight Eisenhower, who broadcast a message to the world in February 1957. The Reagan message 26 years later was delivered from the same VOA facility that Eisenhower used—with the same electronic equipment. While the rest of the world has moved from the transistor to the microchip, VOA is still in the age of the vacuum tube.

Reagan's comparison of his support for VOA to that of presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy for the space program is fitting, since the Voice's broadcasts, while less spectacular than space missions, have enhanced U.S. prestige by explaining the society that produced the moon missions and the space shuttle. VOA began broadcasting in 1942, in the dark days of World War II. As the country's voice to the world, it was to report the truth to its listeners whether "the news may be good or bad," as its first broadcast stated. Accurate, objective, and comprehensive news is a guiding principle of VOA's charter. But to many at VOA and elsewhere, an adherence to unchanging principle seemed to mean reliance on unchanging equipment as well. Over the years, few new transmitters were purchased, and today they are outnumbered

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by vintage models. The most notorious example is a 1938 transmitter captured from the Nazis that is still in daily use at VOA's relay station in Munich. More than 35 percent of VOA's 108 transmitters are 30 years old or older; more than 80 percent are at least 15 years old. That the old equipment still operates is testimony to the capabilities of VOA's engineering and technical operations staff.

The list of VOA's deficiencies encompasses more than just aged equipment. It has no true "superpower" 500-kilowatt short-wave transmitters—compared with 37 for the Soviet Union, 11 for France, 9 for West Germany, and 8 for the United Kingdom. And, while VOA broadcasts under 1000 hours per week in 42 languages, the Soviet Union broadcasts well over 2000 hours per week in 81 languages.

As its appropriations increase over the next few years, however, VOA plans to purchase numerous state-of-the-art transmitters. Up to 10 of the powerful 500-kilowatt models will be installed at the new Tangier, Morocco, facility. More will be acquired for new relay stations in other countries where VOA has recently negotiated new agreements. Still others will replace some of those obsolete units at existing stations. In addition to overcoming natural barriers, the new transmitters will send stronger signals to allow more programs to be received where VOA's signal is being jammed.

Today this area is principally the Soviet Union and parts of Eastern Europe, where jamming of VOA broadcasts in local languages was reinstituted in 1980. First begun in 1948 by the Soviets, jamming of VOA had been intermittent during the ensuing 30 years. Now, it is once again a fact of political life and all too familiar to many short-wave listeners. Often effective against more than 25 percent of VOA's broadcasts because signals are not strong, international jamming violates several agreements to which the U.S.S.R. is a signatory: Principle VII of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, Article 19 of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and International Telecommunication Union regulations.

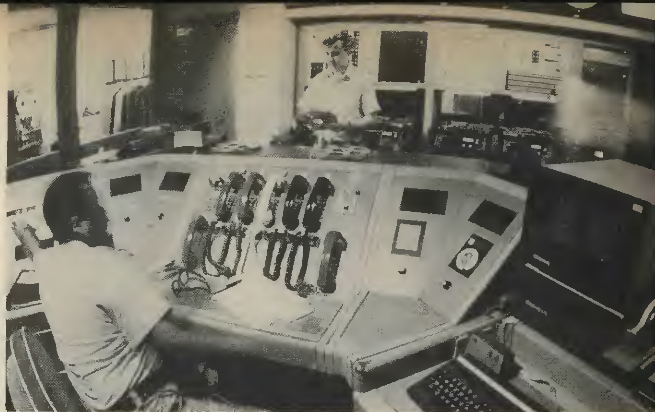
DESPITE JAMMING and the competing appeal of television, however, many people abroad do listen to short-wave broadcasts, and for this reason competition among international radio broadcasters for the attention of listeners is intense. The airwaves are filled by broadcasts from many countries, large and small. An American, a Brazilian, or a Nigerian tuning in a short-wave receiver at home will find scores of foreign broadcasts filling the band. VOA broadcasts in competition for listeners with Radio Moscow, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Federal Republic of Germany's Deutsche Welle, Radio Beijing, Radio France International, Radio Cairo, and others. Being heard in this busy environment will mean raising the level of its voice.

Short wave has been the most common form of transmission by the Voice of America and other international broadcasters because its signals propagate better and farther than medium-wave signals. They bounce off the ionosphere and return to earth loud and clear as far as 1700 miles away. This single reflection of radio signals, known as a one-hop transmission, usually provides satisfactory reception to the listener. Since many audiences live further away from VOA transmitters than 1700 miles, however, two-hop or three-hop or longer transmissions are often necessary. Unfortunately, multi-hop signals are far less reliable, weaker, and have more static. Sometimes they aren't received at all.

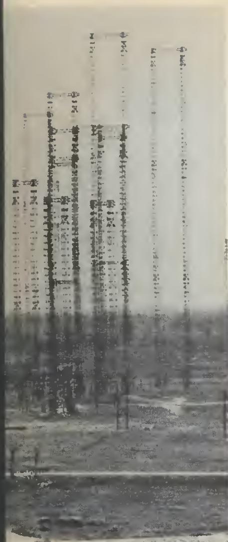
To reduce dependence on multiple-hop signals and provide better broadcast quality, VOA engineers have installed transmitters in 10 foreign countries and in the United States. These stations receive radio signals sent from Washington and retransmit—or relay—them to specific audiences. In addition, VOA is now using satellites to transmit clearer signals to some of its overseas stations. Even so, these stations must still rely on short-wave transmitters for their own relays, because their current locations are limited and cannot deliver clear signals everywhere in the world. In Latin America, the Soviet Union, and Africa, for instance, the Voice can only achieve partial coverage. Full coverage of all continents requires more powerful transmitters and additional sites for using them.

In recent years, some foreign listeners have come to rely less on short-wave and more on medium-wave radio broadcasts, such as those on the AM band in the United States. Medium-wave radio receivers, especially portable transistor models, are inexpensive and ubiquitous in many parts of the world. VOA is traditionally recognized as a short-wave broadcaster, but today it is reaching this growing audience with transmissions from several medium-wave relay stations overseas. In fact, the Voice now broadcasts in medium wave for nearly half its total hours, and in 21 of its 42 languages. These programs are relayed from transmitters located in Rhodes and Kavala (Greece), Munich, Bangkok, Tinang (Philippines), Selebi-Pikwe (Botswana), Judge Bay (Antigua), Quesada (Costa Rica), and Marathon, Florida.

Medium-wave transmissions differ significantly from short wave since the signals travel over the earth's surface following the contours of the ground. When the path to an audience is over flat land or open water, the signals propagate a considerable distance. When mountain ranges or tall buildings intervene, however, they do not travel far. Medium-wave signals travel farther at night than in the daytime because to



VOA's ultramodern News Operations Studio—"The Bubble." Continued technological improvements will be necessary to keep the Voice in the thick of the international radio race.



Voice relay station at Tinang, the Philippines. More relay transmitters are needed to reach into large countries like China and the Soviet Union.

some extent they bounce off the ionosphere like short-wave signals. But even under optimum conditions, medium wave does not propagate nearly as far.

For these reasons medium-wave broadcasting is feasible only where audiences are heavily concentrated and relatively close to a transmitter site. Thus listeners in Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, and Central America can be reached by high-powered medium-wave transmitters located at an increased number of relay stations. However, short-wave broadcasts remain essential to reach large but dispersed audiences residing in countries the size of the U.S.S.R., China, and Brazil.

Recognizing its need to build additional relay stations overseas, VOA established an Office of Coordination for International Negotiations in 1983. This office has already managed the successful completion of agreements with five countries that provide for stations to be built in Sri Lanka, Morocco, Thailand, Costa Rica, and Belize. The Sri Lanka pact, concluded in December 1983, was VOA's first short-wave agreement in twenty years. A new but temporary medium-wave facility is already on the air in Costa Rica, preceding a permanent installation, and the office is seeking agreements for additional stations in the Far East, the Middle East, Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean.

The process of acquiring a new relay station is technically and sometimes politically complex. It begins when program planners decide that the Voice should reach a certain audience in a certain area. VOA's systems engineers then identify optimal locations for broadcasting to that area. Approaches are made to a potential host government to obtain an agreement in principle to proceed. In today's world of sovereign, nationalistic governments, such a consent to proceed cannot be taken for granted by the United States. In fact, it may prove the most difficult step in the entire process, for potential host governments understand that there are political costs as well as tangible benefits in concluding a VOA relay station agreement. If there is such agreement in principle, negotiations then begin over specific requirements by the Voice and the host country. VOA requirements usually include land use (rental or purchase), facility ownership, duration (usually 20-25 years), agreement renewal, duty-free entry of equipment and material, and the official status of American VOA station personnel. Current technology has added a new, state-of-the-art requirement: since eventually all VOA relay stations will receive their program transmission feeds by satellite from Washington, authority to build and operate a satellite terminal at a relay station is also specified.

Host country requirements vary from one negotiation to another. Payments or shared transmitter time are commonly requested as compensation, although provision of equipment and technical training are sometimes more desirable. VOA has found considerable variety among host requirements, and its negotiations have ranged from simple and brief to complex and protracted. All Voice negotiations are pursued separately and are not linked to bilateral foreign aid or economic cooperation agreements. However, there can be no denying the importance of an agreement to host a VOA site in the total picture of that country's relationship to the United States—a point that figures significantly in reaching agreements.

Essential to every agreement are reservations for the specific broadcast frequencies VOA needs to transmit effectively. Most relay stations are located abroad, so the Voice and the host government must consider the international radio-frequency regulations established by the International Telecommunication Union. Many countries now engage in international broadcasting and, with only a finite number of frequencies available in a broadcast band, transmissions have congested the airwaves. Periodic international meetings known as WARCs—for World Administrative Radio Conferences—deal with such matters. The 1979 WARC discussed the allocation of the spectrum for short-wave broadcasting. The 1984 WARC began plans for using the spectrum allocated in 1979, and also discussed engineering aspects of intentional broadcast interference, or jamming. Efforts are continuing on the monitoring and regulation of these matters, which will be discussed further at a WARC to be held in 1987. The Voice and other U.S. representatives participate in the WARCs to discuss the frequency-allocation issue. They also defend U.S. international broadcasting interests there, for VOA's ability to reach its audiences would be seriously impaired if the number of frequencies were to be decreased.

ONE ASPECT OF modernization which is solely within the power of our government concerns VOA's facilities in the United States. In 1981, *Foreign Affairs* published a thoughtful article by Kenneth Adelman on the future of USIA. Adelman, today the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, then wrote:

> The equipment in VOA's main control room dates back to 1954. VOA lacks funds to convert from vacuum tube equipment to more reliable and cost-effective solid-state systems. Necessary technical improvements have been avoided for a host of reasons: few policymakers understand or care much about the technology, outside political backing is slight, lead times are long—from survey to start-up, some five years—and top leadership has been transient.

These observations accurately reflected the situation at the time. Today, however, only one of them still applies—lead times, of technological necessity, are still long.

Since 1981, a design for the complete renovation of the Voice's master control room (the 24-hour coordination center for all VOA broadcasts on all transmitters) has been drawn up and funds allocated for its installation this year. VOA has also begun to receive adequate funds to modernize its equipment. The $85 million the Voice received for radio construction in fiscal 1985 is the first indication that funding needed to achieve modernization—a total of well over $1 billion over the next five years—will be provided. Policymakers in the National Security Council, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense now comprehend the need for modernization and have

provided support. Bipartisan backing on Capitol Hill has been generous, and Congress is kept informed of plans for modernization—as well as progress.

Leadership from the Voice's parent agency has been strongly supportive. USIA Director Charles Z. Wick has worked effectively for VOA for several years now within the administration and on the Hill. Continuity has also characterized the Voice's own leadership recently. Gene Pell, who had been in charge of VOA programs and earlier the head of its News and English Broadcasts division, has been nominated as VOA director to succeed Kenneth Tomlinson, who began the modernization program during two years at the Voice's head.

THERE IS A series of other improvements currently underway at the Voice. Since sustained large appropriations over the next five years are crucial if VOA modernization is to succeed, the Voice has expanded its Office of Administration to provide strengthened financial management with experienced budget and contract officers. This will be essential to obtain the needed levels of appropriations from the Office of Management and Budget and the appropriations committees in the House and Senate, and then to obligate them.

Enhanced financial management, more systems and project engineering, and expanded broadcasts all require additional staff. VOA's Office of Personnel has extensively recruited skilled, experienced people for these and other areas. In addition to financial managers, special attention has been given to the recruitment of engineers with advanced degrees in their fields of specialization. Qualified engineers are still being sought. Experienced international broadcasters with foreign language capabilities are also needed.

Although VOA program expansion is to a large extent dependent on an increased technical capability to be achieved in the next five years, some program modernization has already occurred. New VOA correspondent bureaus have been opened in Boston, Houston, Geneva, Hong Kong, Rome, Islamabad, and San Jose. A regional news center now operates in London. A comprehensive set of standards for program writing and production has been issued. New programs have been introduced, such as the monthly "Talk to America" show, where listeners around the world are invited to ask questions live of prominent invited guests such as former President Ford and former Senator William Fulbright. Four modern studios were designed, constructed, and put into use in 1984. The central newsroom has been renovated and a text processing network is in place. New teletype cables now service high-speed printers, providing rapid delivery to all broadcasting divisions.

A modest expansion in program hours has been implemented in the broadcast services of Hausa, Dari, Amharic, Azerbaijani, and Ukrainian. In 1985 expanded programming in Spanish, Portuguese, French-to-Africa, Arabic, Czech-Slovak, and Albanian will occur. Other expansions are planned for 1986 and beyond in various other languages.

An Office of Audience Relations was established in 1982 to increase VOA listenership. It began publication of a new listener magazine called *Voice,* whose circulation is currently 97,000. A new agreement for extended distribution in Japan will triple this circulation. Listener mail, always substantial, increased by more than 40,000 letters in 1984. Most letters come from Arabic, Bengali, English-to-Africa, Spanish, and Chinese audiences. (Jamming of VOA broadcasts to China ended well before full U.S.-China diplomatic relations were established. Today VOA listenership there in Chinese and English is in the millions and includes government officials.) The office processes and analyzes the mail, providing VOA feedback on audience reaction to programs, attitudes toward U.S. policy, signal quality, and reports of broadcast jamming in certain areas.

On the technical side a complex computerized system for news and programming called SNAP is being implemented to enable hundreds of writers in VOA's various language services to do original writing, translations, and adaptations on workstation screens in the written characters of each of VOA's 42 broadcast languages, including the non-Roman alphabets of Russian, Arabic, and Chinese.

Given advances in satellite communications, VOA has sometimes been asked why it does not further modernize with direct broadcasting by satellite or use single-sideband transmissions. VOA is looking closely at DBS through a joint project with NASA and two corporations, examining satellite systems using frequency bands from short wave to microwave. To date, research shows that short-wave broadcast satellites would be large, heavy, and expensive, and require technology not yet available. Microwave satellites would be smaller, lighter, and less expensive, however, and would probably not require new technology. Mass-produced, readily available radio receivers cannot receive microwaves, however, and hand-held sets cannot pick up a satellite signal directly. Single-sideband transmissions would also require newly designed receivers. In addition, governments would have to approve the commercial distribution of such receivers so that listening audiences could obtain them. In closed societies like the Soviet Union, this may not be possible. For the foreseeable future, then, VOA believes that the most feasible way to reach its audiences continues to be short- and medium-wave broadcasts from well-located ground-based transmitters.

After decades of minimal funding, VOA is at long last being provided the resources to modernize its facilities, extend its voice, add the personnel needed to run a top-flight international broadcasting operation, and thus improve what is already a highly professional organization. In doing so, VOA believes its overseas audience, estimated to be more than 120 million, can be increased substantially. As stated earlier, modernization will require high levels of funding for several years at a time when the national deficit is already high and government spending reductions are being sought. VOA's challenges are and will continue to be to demonstrate to Congress that such funds are required—and that they can be efficiently spent for site acquisition and relay station design, construction, and operation on a scale never before attempted. □

VOA newsroom in Washington. As part of its program modernization, the Voice has opened new bureaus in Boston, Houston, Geneva, Hong Kong, Rome, Islamabad, and San Jose.

The Twilight of Diplomacy

Only strong leadership can reverse the decline in effective diplomacy that has resulted from a changing world order

George C. McGhee

TODAY THE NATIONS of the world seem incapable of conducting successful diplomacy. Incidents that in the past would have been resolved through negotiation, now all too frequently become nagging problems or even wars. The cost has been high in both lives and resources.

There are many reasons behind this setting of the diplomatic sun, and some of them are due to irreversible changes in the structure of governments and societies around the world. Others, however, can be reversed, or at least coped with. In particular, a greater willingness by our leaders to make decisions instead of simply letting policy evolve haphazardly, and to instruct the public as to what can realistically be accomplished, would do much to make a new dawn possible.

Diplomacy is used here in the broadest sense, and includes all negotiations and exchanges of views across national borders that are intended to lessen tensions or bring about agreements between countries. Diplomacy is at its best when, unseen and unheard, it works successfully through secret channels to avoid open breaks between governments. Such efforts usually go unrecognized and unrewarded but are nevertheless essential to effective management of foreign relations. Diplomacy is often conducted openly in bilateral or multilateral forums. It is also—perhaps increasingly so—carried out in public, through both official speeches and the media.

It has not been that long since our last diplomatic heyday. During World War II and in the immediate postwar era, there were many examples of successful diplomacy. Drawn together by the threat of Nazi domination, the Allied governments resolved their difficulties sufficiently to fight a successful war and reach general agreement on organizing the peace. When Soviet communism threatened Western Europe, those countries took up our suggestion and organized the Marshall Plan to rescue their economy. Soon afterward, NATO was established to defend Western Europe against Soviet aggression. And there were many other examples of successful negotiations and cooperative efforts during this period: The financial agreements of Bretton Woods of 1944, the preservation of Greece and Turkey through the Truman Doctrine and Greek-Turkish aid in 1947, Ralph Bunche's mediation in behalf of the United Nations during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the defense of Berlin in the face of the 1948 Soviet blockade, the Tripartite Declaration of 1950, the Japanese Peace Treaty and the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, and others. There have in recent years been other successful negotiations: President Nixon's and Henry Kissinger's agreements creating SALT I, establishing relations with China, and the separation of Arab-Israeli forces in the Sinai. After a lull under President Ford, President Carter negotiated SALT II (not ratified), and the Camp David agreement and Panama Canal Treaties.

There have been no such successes during the Reagan administration. The recent Geneva negotiation between Secretary of State Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was promising, but it resulted only in an agreement on the format for further arms talks. Even though the negotiations themselves have finally begun, it will be at least two to three years before all three sets of related negotiations can be completed—if they ever are completed. The positions of the two sides remain unchanged.

Since the postwar successes of diplomacy, the world has seen major changes in the relations among countries. The colonial system has ended, and peace has lasted long enough for us to hope that the cycle of world wars has broken. Unparalleled prosperity, although interrupted by a world recession, has come to the industrialized states. Western Europe has enjoyed great benefits from this economic resurgence, but it has not been able to generate enough political power to regain its pre-war role in the world. The United States, too, is no longer the pre-eminent power. The Soviet Union, although weak economically, has gained on us in military strength, solidified its position in Eastern Europe, conquered Afghanistan, and established strong influence in Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, and South Yemen. Along with these shifts, there has also been a marked diffusion of power. Germany and Japan have emerged as economic giants, while the OPEC countries, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, and South Korea have also increased their importance in the world economy. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, has declined both economically and as a world power.

During this same period, there has been a startling decline in the ability of governments to settle their conflicts through negotiation and agreement. This

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George C. McGhee, who was with the State Department for 20 years, served as ambassador to Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany and as under secretary for political affairs.

applies not only to conflicts between communist and anti-communist countries, but even to those between members of the "free world." Instead of negotiations and despite the foundation of the United Nations, local wars have proliferated. Severe tensions have arisen, which may well lead to even more wars. Relations between the United States and U.S.S.R. have worsened. Until recently, there was a complete lapse of arms control negotiations. The SALT talks, which had shown fruitful results since their inception in 1969 have, following U.S. failure to ratify SALT II in 1980, ceased to exist—drying up one of the most fruitful U.S.-Soviet points of contact. Open denunciation and threats, confrontation, unilateral action, invasion without negotiation, have all become the order of the day.

IN 1980, Iraq invaded Iran without warning over the control of the Shatt-al-Arab waterway and Iranian provocations with the Kurds and Shiites. Both countries are being destroyed by the conflict, but neither is making a serious effort at negotiation despite U.N. efforts. Likewise, neither the United Kingdom nor Argentina made a serious effort to resolve their long-festering dispute over the Falkland Islands before the Argentine invasion, and Secretary Haig's efforts to mediate fell on deaf ears. In addition, Haig, his successor, and others in the U.S. government have made little effort to negotiate our basic differences with Nicaragua, against whom we are fighting an undeclared war. Even after Nicaragua's acceptance of the Contadora Group proposals, we raised some new exceptions, and the president and others have stated that their goal is to make the Sandinistas cry "uncle."

When the Soviets had difficulties with neighboring Afghanistan, they did not stop to negotiate, but invaded the country on the pretext of aiding the existing communist regime, whose leader they immediately killed. But despite U.N. efforts, there is no prospect of negotiations leading to Soviet withdrawal. And, whether or not the recent U.S. action in Grenada was justified, the fact is that we made no effort to obtain a peaceful solution before we invaded.

In the Middle East, there have been a number of attempts to negotiate differences, but the unwillingness of many parties to resolve these peacefully has made for a catalogue of failures. The Camp David accords were flawed by a failure to understand Israel's firm intentions to continue West Bank settlements. President Reagan's peace proposals of September 1982, which were both sound and consistent with previous U.S. efforts, were spurned by all the parties concerned. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, a unilateral action the United States at least officially opposed, disrupted the fragile fabric of that country beyond repair.

We later managed to negotiate the withdrawal of Palestine Liberation Organization forces from Lebanon, but these efforts were negated by the ensuing Christian-Shiite war. Secretary Shultz's efforts to obtain the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces foundered over the latter's refusal. The Saudi peace proposals met a similar end and the Middle East is still in general disarray. The United States has stepped back from its leading role and for the first time since 1948 has no active peace proposal on the table. The recent Arafat-Hussein accord, although rejected by Israel, and the Mubarak initiative, raise hopes, but many road-blocks lie ahead.

As a result of these many conflicts, the world has drifted more and more into a state of international anarchy. Agreements such as the Panama Canal treaties are now lonely and isolated events. They would not be possible today because of Republican opposition. British diplomacy at its best created the new state of Zimbabwe out of Rhodesia, but the U.K. government has had no such success in the Falklands or Northern Ireland.

One of the major reasons for this inability to resolve disagreements without resorting to war has been an apparent breakdown in traditional bilateral diplomacy. The secret day-to-day flow of information and quiet discussions between governments that allow accommodation to develop, instead of conflict, seem to have just about dried up. Ambassadors no longer seem to play the central role they once did in keeping bilateral channels open. Our ambassador to London, for instance, though apparently a well-meaning man, was unceremoniously removed because, having no previous diplomatic experience, he was not considered effective. Our ambassador in Paris was reprimanded by the French government for publicly attacking a Communist cabinet member. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article highlighted the increasing irrelevance of ambassadors, in some cases, according to the *Journal,* because they are incompetent political appointees, or because they are career officers who are not trusted by the president, or because the president and secretary of state prefer to bypass the ambassador.

We need a greater willingness by our leaders to make decisions instead of simply letting policy evolve haphazardly, and to instruct the public as to what can realistically be accomplished

Why are we in this situation? What has changed in the world that has caused it? What are the prospects for the future? In the first place, there is a change of atmosphere in the West. As brought out by a recent Atlantic Institute poll, the citizens of the United States and Europe perceive no present threat of general war, or any other imminent critical danger, that would force the Western nations to subordinate their national interests to common goals, even among allies.

There have also been other structural changes affecting diplomacy. Until World War I, Europe was largely run by monarchs, who had almost complete freedom to wage war and make peace. Their plenipotentiaries, usually members of the royal family, were given full powers to negotiate the terms of surrender or conquest, as at the Congress of Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Rulers then were willing (and unconstrained by public opinion, were able) to accept the most onerous terms of defeat, so they could start re-arming to win the next round.

In the case of democratic governments, however, the chief executive holds much less power and in fact is often a hostage to the political system. The president or prime minister basically represents only his or her own political party and in many cases cannot control its extremist elements. The right wing of the Republican party, for example, can block almost any treaty or policy intended to establish an accommodat-

During World War II and in the immediate postwar era, as well as in more recent years, there were many examples of successful diplomacy; there have been none during the Reagan administration

ing relationship with the Soviets. Similarly, the left wing of the Democratic party pushed for protection of human rights over security interests. A head of government today must overcome constant public harassment by opposition parties, who often ignore the merits of the case.

TODAY, THE MAKERS OF foreign policy must always consider the political implications of their decisions. This is hardly the basis on which foreign policy should be constructed and often leads to unwise international commitments. In the recent U.S. election, for example, both candidates made promises to the supporters of Israel, Walter Mondale going as far as to advocate moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem and accepting the legality of Israel's West Bank settlements.

Another complicating factor in recent years has been the massive invasion of the foreign policy-making process by almost all elements of the government. Secretary of State Acheson, aided by the full confidence of President Truman, had much more freedom of action than Secretary Haig, who in his recent book *Caveat* complained about his inability to obtain access to the president, his irreconcilable differences with the secretary of defense, and his harassment by White House assistants. It is a hopeful sign that Secretary Shultz appears to have succeeded in gaining control of the State Department, and supremacy as the president's foreign affairs adviser. Today, however, the secretary of state must contend with a bloated National Security Council staff, other federal agencies, and an active and involved Congress. The media increasingly pry into the conduct of foreign policy, often in an overly critical way. As a result, diplomacy is now plagued by premature leaks and conflicting press interpretations, which dry up foreign sources of information and lead to damaging prejudgments and interference.

The growing interdependence of the world—and awareness of that interdependence—has added another burden to diplomacy. The behavior of foreign countries and other international factors have become inextricably intertwined with domestic political interests. Issues that previously were left to the purview of the diplomats now have powerful constituencies. Various ethnic groups in the United States, for example, affect a large portion of our foreign relations: the Israeli lobby's influence over Middle East policy and relations with the Arab and Islamic states; the Greek and Armenian lobbies' effect on relations with Turkey; the South Asian Indian lobby's growing voice concerning relations with Pakistan; the Polish and other Eastern European lobbies' influence over relations with the U.S.S.R. (although more balanced by overall U.S. interests); the Hispanic community's control over immigration policy and influence on relations with South and Central America; the black concern over relations with South Africa; even the influence of the various descendants of Western European immigrants. In such a situation, few are left to speak for the interests of the country as a whole.

Policymakers must also contend with the special pleading of liberals and conservatives, labor and management, and countless industries, including banking, automobiles, petroleum, steel, and agriculture. More recently, religious groups have begun to exert their influence on international politics. The most extreme example is the Khomeini regime in Iran. In the United States, we see the disruptive effect of various religious groups—Islamic organizations, South Asian sects, Moonies, and the Moral Majority and other rightist Christian organizations—on our relations with other countries.

Extremism is also evident in the growth of international terrorism. Assassinations, kidnappings, airline hijackings, boycotts, and destruction of property will undoubtedly continue, and even increase, further disrupting the delicate fabric of international relations, which relies on the safe passage of government officials, businessmen, and tourists throughout the world. Meaningful negotiations over outstanding issues are much more difficult against such a background. But terrorists are not the only ones exerting extremist pressures on government decision-makers. In many countries, the legitimate political opposition, such as the British Labour party and the West German Social Democrats, have become more polarized against the party in power. Despite having recently been in government themselves, these parties are becoming anti-nuclear, anti-NATO, even anti-United States. Support for the alliance is no longer assured should the governments change; this has enormously complicated our relations.

Governments also contribute to the overwhelming of diplomacy by extremism. In recent years the world has seen the re-emergence of the equivalent of the holy wars of past eras, in the form of ideological conflict. In those earlier times it was not possible to negotiate except after capitulating. One side or the other had to be annihilated. This was as true of the Crusaders as of those who conquered Christians in the name of Allah. Today, the most obvious examples of governmental extremism are the many statements issuing from Moscow, Libya, and Teheran toward the West, particularly the United States. But even President Reagan, by calling the Soviets an evil empire, liars, and cheats, made successful negotiation with them much more difficult. Many right-wing Americans consider the establishment of a government they believe to be "Marxist-Leninist"—in countries such as Nicaragua, where the meaning of the term is barely understood—as *ipso facto* justification for a preventive war. Negotiations are too often undertaken to "win a victory" rather than to solve a problem. If this is the wave of the future, the opportunity for successful diplomacy will be greatly diminished.

Pervading all of these problems, and having a most deleterious effect, is an increasing lack of interest about international problems on the part of ordinary citizens, here and elsewhere. People like quick solutions and are impatient at the slow pace of the diplomatic process. Diplomats are often considered fuddie-duddies. Americans, in particular, have recovered from their recession and are overly preoccupied with achieving the good life. Consideration for the foreigner's perspective and interests, and even of our own long-range national interests, has been pushed into the background.

IT IS EASIER, of course, to list the symptoms of malaise than to prescribe the cure. In a recent book, *Our Own Worst Enemy*, I.M. Destler, Leslie Gelb, and Anthony Lake make the case for a breakdown in U.S. foreign policy over the last 20 years, resulting from a structural change in the policymaking hierarchy with a new professional elite succeeding the postwar eastern establishment. They also blame lack of continuity in policy and personnel between administrations, and increased partisanship leading to intense personal and ideological feuding among the extremist elites.

Ideally, Americans must reorient their values and acquire a new willingness to make sacrifices for the common good as we did during World War II. We must think and vote as Americans, not as proponents for our ancestral homelands or as members of particular religious or industrial groups. We must also recognize where our long-term interests lie and be willing to forgo short-term advantages to achieve them. This kind of choice arises every day as we debate establishing protectionist measures to safeguard our own industries or granting leniency toward our debtors from the developing world. Even if we cannot develop a truly bipartisan foreign policy, we must seek to eliminate from the policymaking process partisanship merely for partisan advantage.

Even if these internal changes could be accomplished, however, they will not be enough to reverse the growth of international intransigence. That problem is a reflection of more basic issues and tensions, such as one country perceiving its interests and goals as being in conflict with those of its neighbors. Some drastic change must take place in the world before we will see any real improvement. In particular, there must be a turnaround in the polarization that has crept into international politics. For the United States, this means especially its relations with the Soviet Union, the Islamic countries, and the rest of the developing world. This will be extremely difficult and can only be accomplished by positive steps toward a greater sense of world community. It means creating something like the give and take developed among the diverse peoples bound together within our 50 states and in older countries with a traditional sense of fairness, like Britain. This will require greater self-restraint by the major powers, along with greater self-reliance by the developing countries in solving their grave economic and social problems. But, basically, it can only be achieved if all the countries of the world can learn to have greater respect for the rights and interests of others.

Such progress will at best take a long time and in fact may never come about. In the meantime, there are certain specific structural steps we can take toward resolving these difficulties. First, we need to develop a better understanding of world affairs through education, particularly for our young people, who will vote and enter government in the future. Schools teaching foreign affairs must be strengthened. Incentives must be offered to our best young people to seek careers in the Foreign Service—and to stay with it.

Second, we must have a stronger State Department. The tendency of the press and the public to be overly critical, which has tended to discredit the department and recent secretaries of state, has deterred good men and women from entering the Service. If we are to attract the high quality of personnel that volunteered during the war, our officials must be insulated from this constant carping. They must also be given greater freedom to analyze and act in defense of U.S. interests, not bureaucratic ones.

Furthermore, we must unclog the whole process of consultation and decision-making within the government. The recent impasse over arms control policy, which, in the last round of talks, apparently prevented us from putting forth proposals that might have been negotiable with the Soviets—such as those emerging from Paul Nitze's "walk in the woods"—is a case in point. According to *Deadly Gambits* by Strobe Talbott, the impasse was attributable largely to the policy clash between an assistant secretary of state and an assistant secretary of defense, which their superiors were unwilling or unable to reconcile. Talbott also described certain key officials involved in the Washington nuclear arms debate as being against any concessions to the Soviets—some in fact against any agreement at all. One of the feuding assistant secretaries is now scheduled for transfer, and the negotiating team sent to Geneva are mostly new faces. Although hitherto intractable issues with the Soviets remain, now compounded by strong Soviet objection to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, at least our negotiating structure has been improved.

The United States, as the major world power, has a special responsibility to do what we can to help the world restore the effectiveness of diplomacy, and to provide leadership in making a new effort to attack the many grave problems facing the nations of the world. Most of these will take much time and patient work to overcome; however, today in the Middle East, Central America, and South Africa, and in arms control, there are vital issues that offer a challenge to the application of the most skillful conciliation and negotiation of which we are all capable.

But if we are to set an example to others, we must first put our own house in order. We must ourselves develop stronger leadership in the conduct of our foreign policy. We must avoid extremism and confrontation and demonstrate a greater willingness to compromise, in our own internal debate. We must improve our own policymaking and decision-making process.

President Reagan has demonstrated his capacity for leadership. It is hoped that he will, during his second term, make use of the mandate given him in the recent election to take a more active interest in the substance of the most pressing international issues. Having increased our military strength, he, it is hoped, will move to a more positive negotiating posture. We must continue to improve our defenses and to support the fundamental principles of our nation. We must also, however, demonstrate that we take into account in our external relations the views and the interests of the other nations involved. We cannot rely wholly on military might and covert activities. In our negotiations, we must show flexibility and a willingness to compromise, adapting to the realities of the present difficult world situation. If that is done, diplomacy can rise again. □

President Reagan has demonstrated his capacity for leadership; it is hoped that he will make use of the mandate given him in the recent election to take a more active interest in international issues

Overland

"Douglas S. Mackiernan, Killed by Gunfire, Tibet 1950." So reads one inscription on the Memorial Plaque on the west wall of the State Department's Diplomatic Lobby honoring members of the Foreign Service who have died in the line of duty. These words only hint at a tragic adventure.

FRED DONNER

ONLY TWO FOREIGN SERVICE members have died in China despite the historically large number of China posts and the numerous natural and manmade disasters associated with nearly 200 years of Sino-American relations. Strangely enough, both were men named M[a]ckiernan. Charles P. McKiernan was appointed a student interpreter in China on March 10, 1911, and died at Chungking of black smallpox on May 28, 1916. Douglas S. Mackiernan, with whom this article is concerned, was appointed a consular clerk at Nanking in May 1947 and then a vice consul at Urumqi, also known as Tihwa, in May 1948. Born in Mexico City in 1913, he graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where his studies took him to Cuba and Puerto Rico. Later he served as an Army Air Corps officer in Alaska and China. His wife and year-old twin son and daughter were trying to get permission to join him in Urumqi when the post was closed in 1949. Seven months later, he was dead.

The Sinjiang region, of which Urumqi is the capital, had a de facto separate Chinese government during World War II and by 1948 was "in the throes of what virtually amounted to civil war," according to contemporary press accounts. On August 7, 1949, John Hall Paxton, consul at Urumqi and a true old China hand who had grown up there as a missionary kid and served at seven China posts prior to Urumqi, sent a telegram to the State Department. He was prepared to stay, he said. The post's current supplies would last six months and he could get more. He also would maintain radio communications with the department. If the consulate had to be closed, he suggested a temporary office at Kashgar (now Kashi), 900 miles to the south.

Unknown to Paxton, the U.S. mission in Nanking was urging the department to close Urumqi, and a decision was finally made to close the post to the public. Vice Consul Mackiernan, however, would be left behind until conditions made it impossible for him to remain. Thus began two arduous overland escapes from China for the post personnel.

First, Paxton was ordered to leave with his wife and another vice consul named Dreesen. In order to ensure the safety of some local employees who apparently could not be airlifted out, the party left by vehicle for Pakistan.

Besides the Paxtons and Vice Consul Dreesen, the group consisted of three White Russian consulate employees and their wives and six children, and one other employee. They left Urumqi on August 16. Nine days later, after passing through the Turfan Depression, the Karakizil Pass, and the town of Asqu, the 16 arrived in Kashgar.

In the course of an 18-day rest there, the entire trip was completely revised. The vicissitudes of the civil war caused the local authorities to recommend the destination be changed from Pakistan to India, and the group complied. Passports and papers for the non-Americans were secured, and 14 caravaners and many horses, donkeys, and camels were hired. Eight more travelers joined the party, including the grown daughter of the anti-Communist former provincial governor, her two teenage brothers, a military officer who was a friend of her family, the caravan owner, an Indian merchant, an interpreter, and a driver.

The party headed southeast for Yarkand with vehicles and animals. After they had passed through Karghalik, they were forced to abandon their vehicles at Pusar. The group of travelers and caravaners now numbered around 40, with about 60 animals. They passed the Dusty Pass, the Tiznaf River, the Yengi Dawan, also known as the New Pass, and the Yarkand River, and arrived at Kokat, the last China post, on September 28.

As the Paxton party crossed China, Frank Bessac, a Fulbright scholar, arrived at Urumqi. He was to have attended the University of Peking but was forced to travel west when the city and all of North China came under Communist control. At Urumqi, he found the only other American, Vice Consul Mackiernan, "whose unpleasant job it was to close down the office if and when the Communists actually began occupying the province."

By the end of September, the province of Sinkiang had been turned over to the Communists without a fight. That signaled the second overland evacuation. Bessac helped Mackiernan burn documents, and on September 27 they pulled out of the city in a jeep headed south. By arrangement, three White Russian friends joined them enroute. They shortly abandoned the jeep and, for the next seven months, the five men journeyed on a route that took them straight south from Urumqi to Lhasa, Tibet, by way of the Kunlun Mountains, enroute to India.

WHILE MACKIERNAN WAS just getting started, the Paxton party's political travails were over. The physical impediments to their trip, however, were just beginning in earnest. They had to climb the Karakoram Pass and then the Sasser Dawan Pass. They finally arrived at Kurl Pass on October 14.

On October 20, they ascended the Khardong Glacier and arrived in Leh the next day. Here, the caravaners bid the travelers farewell and turned around to trace their route back to Sinkiang. From Leh, the travelers were flown to Srinagar and New Delhi. They arrived in New York on November 19. Their story can be found in detail in *Overtime in Heaven: Adventures in the Foreign Service* by Peter Lisagor and Marguerite Higgins.

As the Paxtons waited comfortably in the United States, Mackiernan's party traversed the Takla Makan Desert and, by December, were approaching the

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Fred Donner is a terrorism watch officer in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. He earned a master's in modern Chinese history at the University of Minnesota.

from China

foothills of the Kunlun Mountains. December 1949 and January and February 1950 were spent wintering over in a small village. "It was loneliness and utter boredom such as I have never been through before," Bessac later told *Life* magazine. The only entertainment available was two books, *War and Peace* and *Cass Timberlane,* that Mackiernan had brought with him.

The State Department, meanwhile, was making precautionary moves for Mackiernan's safety. On January 30, it had been publicly announced that, as far as was known, Mackiernan was making his way to India over the Himalayas and that the department did not expect to hear from him until he reached Kashmir. On January 31, it was announced that a message from Mackiernan had been relayed to the department stating he expected to return "in the spring." Guessing that Mackiernan would try to come through Tibet, the department requested safe entry and transport from the Lhasa government. They sent safe conduct passes to at least a dozen possible entry points. One of them, however, did not arrive in time.

The Mackiernan party spent March and April 1950 crossing the Kunlun Mountains. On May 1, they spotted their first Tibetan settlement. Mackiernan and Bessac stopped the party and went ahead to investigate. The initial greeting was friendly, but then some of the Tibetans began unlimbering guns. At this, the Americans began to get nervous.

After pitching a camp nearby to show friendly intentions, Bessac went back to the main settlement with a white flag and some cloth that was accepted in an amiable manner. While Bessac was seated in the encampment, he heard gunfire over the ridge toward his own camp. He ran up a knoll just in time to see the denouement of the tragedy.

MACKIERNAN AND THE three White Russians were being marched with their hands in the air. Mackiernan shouted out, "Don't shoot!" But it was too late—the shots had already begun. Mackiernan and two White Russians were dead at the hands of six Tibetans with rifles.

The firing then turned toward Bessac. The bullets all missed him, and he stood up and walked slowly toward the guns. Ordered to "*Ke t'ou,*" or kneel and touch his head to the ground, Bessac refused, following in the best tradition of westerners in the Orient. He not only refused to kowtow once, but, in his fury, did so three times, in three different lan-

guages—English, Chinese, and Mongolian. "I will not. I am an American." The Tibetans were taken aback by this performance and brought the third White Russian, who was only wounded, from a tent to stand by Bessac.

The White Russian, whose name was Zvansov, told Bessac that the gunmen had surrounded the tent, evidently afraid of a possible ambush by the travelers. The first shots had not hit anyone, but forced them from the tents. Rather than return the fire, Mackiernan had argued for his companions to show friendly intentions, even at that stage.

The survivors, escorted by the border guards, started for Shentsa, another military outpost. Enroute, two horsemen flying the official red flag emblem of Tibetan couriers caught up with the party. One showed Bessac two documents: entry permits for Mackiernan and his party. Haranguing the now shamefaced border guards, one courier offered Bessac a gun and pointed at the guards. "There was nothing to be gained by that. I refused," Bessac later said. The guards were sent under arrest to Lhasa while Bessac and Zvansov recuperated further before proceeding there themselves.

Heinrich Harrer, an Austrian and former Olympic athlete for Germany who had become a valued foreign personage at the Royal Court in Lhasa after escaping from British internment in India during World War II, rode out with a high official to greet the Bessac party. He and Bessac became friends, and Harrer is not as admirably reserved as Bessac in telling the Mackiernan story. In a book he wrote entitled *Seven Years in Tibet,* he states that Bessac and Zvansov were insulted, threatened, and robbed even after the shootings while they were enroute to the next outpost. The Lhasa authorities were horrified by the news, and while in Lhasa, Bessac was received twice by the Dalai Lhama.

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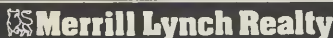

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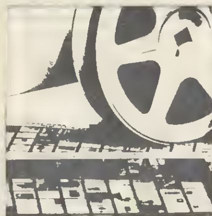

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The six Tibetan border guards who killed Mackiernan and his two friends were sentenced to mutilation and lashing—capital punishment was not part of the Buddhist Tibetan legal system. "The leader was to have his nose and ears cut off. The man who fired the first shots was to lose both ears. A third man was to lose one ear, and the others were to get 50 lashes each. The men receiving the lesser sentences, it developed, had argued with the leader against shooting." Bessac, who had already refused an opportunity to kill all six of them, asked that the sentences be reduced to lashing. According to Harrer, Bessac was asked to be present at the execution of the sentences to ensure there was no deception. Bessac said, "I watched and enjoyed the whole proceeding and took the pictures...." The leader and the man who fired the first shots received 200 lashes apiece. The third man received 50 and the other three 25 each.

It took until July for Bessac to get Tibetan assurances of proper burial for Mackiernan and the two White Russians. Harrer's book tells of three wooden crosses which stand over the graves in the Changthang region of Tibet. A month later, Bessac and Zvansov finally completed the trip to India.

On October 18, 1950, J. Hall Paxton received a Superior Service Award for "outstanding qualities of planning, patient negotiations with Chinese authorities, perseverance in keeping the party together, and successful efforts in inspiring associates in critical associations." These phrases are gross understatements for a man who led a party of about 40 persons of both sexes and assorted nationalities, ages, and backgrounds through incredible circumstances for over two months and 1600 miles in western China and the Himalayas without losing a life. Douglas S. Mackiernan received a posthumous Superior Service Award. □

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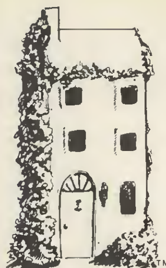

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PEOPLE

Deaths

LOLA MAY BABCOCK, wife of William E. Babcock, a retired Foreign Service officer, died October 28 at the Boca Raton Convalescent Center in Boca Raton, Florida, following a long illness.

Ms. Babcock accompanied her husband on assignments to Japan and Hong Kong.

In addition to her husband, who lives in Boca Raton, she is survived by a son, David L. Richardson Jr., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

JAMES HUGH KEELEY, a retired Foreign Service officer, died January 20 at Doylestown Hospital, Doylestown, Pennsylvania, of complications following surgery for a broken hip. He was 89.

Mr. Keeley was a graduate of the American University in Beirut and the U.S. School of Military Aeronautics at Princeton University. He served as a pilot and instructor with the Army Air Service in World War I.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1920 as vice consul in Constantinople. A Middle East specialist, he was posted to Damascus, Beirut, Thessaloniki, and Athens. He also served in Montreal. During World War II, he headed the State Department's Special War Problems Division, which was responsible for enemy prisoners of war in this country and for the repatriation of U.S. prisoners abroad.

In 1946, Mr. Keeley was appointed special assistant to the chief of the allied mission to observe the elections in Greece. He was also one of the Service's first diplomats-in-residence, serving at Tufts College from 1950–52. He retired from the Service in 1960 and lived in Kintnersville, Pennsylvania, and Winter Park, Florida.

Survivors include two sons, Edmund L. Keeley, of Princeton, New Jersey, and Robert V. Keeley, of Washington, D.C., a daughter-in-law, Mrs. Hugh M. Keeley of Kintersville, Pennsylvania; and two grandchildren, Michal M. and Christopher J., both of Washington, D.C.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, former senator and ambassador to South Vietnam, West Germany, and the United Nations, died February 27. He was 82.

Mr. Lodge was graduated from Harvard College in 1924 and became a journalist, working for first the *Boston Transcript* and then the *New York Herald Tribune*. He was elected to the Massachusetts state legislature and four years later, in 1936, to the U.S. senate.

In 1941, Mr. Lodge, who had been a captain in the Army reserve, went on active duty. He served in northern Africa but was denied a request for further service by the secretary of war in 1942. He was reelected to the Senate the same year but resigned in 1944 to again go on active duty with the Army—the first senator since the Civil War to resign to fight a war. He served in Italy, France, and Germany and was decorated with the Bronze Star, the Legion of Merit, and the French *Croix de Guerre*.

Mr. Lodge was again elected to the Senate in 1946, where he served on the Foreign Relations Committee. In 1952, after an unsuccessful bid for re-election, he was appointed President Eisenhower's ambassador to the United Nations, where he served for nearly eight years. He ran as the vice-presidential candidate in 1960 but was defeated.

In August 1963, President Kennedy appointed Mr. Lodge ambassador to South Vietnam. He resigned less than a year later and attempted to win the Republican presidential nomination. When President Johnson was elected, Mr. Lodge was sent back to Saigon. It was during his ambassadorship that the United States' greatest military buildup in Vietnam occurred.

After leaving Saigon, Mr. Lodge served as an ambassador-at-large and as the ambassador to West Germany. He later became President Nixon's representative to the Paris peace talks on Vietnam but resigned in 1969 since, in his view, the North Vietnamese had refused any meaningful negotiation.

From 1970–77, he served as special envoy to the Vatican. Since that time, he had taught politics and diplomacy at North Shore Community College in Massachusetts.

Survivors include his wife, Emily, and two sons, George Cabot Lodge and Henry Sears Lodge, all of Beverly, Massachusetts; a sister, Baroness Edouard de Streel, of Brussels; a brother, John Davis Lodge, U.S. ambassador to Switzerland; 10 grandchildren; and six great-grandchildren.

JAMES W. SWIHART, a retired Foreign Service officer, died January 19 at his home in Casco, Maine, following a long illness. He was 68.

A graduate of Yale University, Mr. Swihart joined the Foreign Service in 1942, becoming the assistant chief of the Division of World Trade Intelligence. Other assignments included Brussels, as financial attache; London; Teheran, as counselor; and the State Department in the offices of Public and European Affairs and of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and British West Indies.

Following his retirement in 1968, Mr. Swihart was elected a selectman of Casco and served as a trustee of the Maine Osteopathic Hospital.

He is survived by his wife, Susannah M. Mirick, a former Foreign Service officer; a son, James Jr., consul general in Zagreb; four other children; and two grandchildren.

KATHLEEN CLIFTON TAYLOR, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of pneumonia January 28 at Winslow, Bainbridge Island, Washington. She was 82.

Ms. Taylor attended the University of Texas. Upon her graduation, she entered the Foreign Service and was assigned to Mexico City. Other posts included London, Madrid, Barcelona, Havana, Rome, Vienna, Hamburg, and Athens. She retired as a consul in 1961 and moved to Williamstown, Massachusetts. She later moved to Bainbridge Island.

She is survived by her sister, Dorothy C. Radcliffe, of Bainbridge Island. Contributions in memory of Ms. Taylor may be made to the Alzheimer Research Program, University of Washington, R.P. 10, Seattle, Washington 98195.

Births

A daughter, Linda Amrita Dawson, was born November 25 to Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAM C. DAWSON JR., in Madras, India. The father is a Foreign Service officer posted to Medan, Indonesia. The mother was formerly with USIS in Madras, India.

A son, John Matthew Rose-Wood, was born to CAROL ROSE and PETER WOOD, both Foreign Service officers, on January 5 in Syracuse, New York. Mr. Wood is in Syracuse for university training.

A daughter, Amanda Keith Holik, was born March 6 to SUSAN and JEFF HOLIK. The mother is AFSA's general counsel. The father is an associate partner with the law firm of Baker & Hostetler.

PEOPLE records births, deaths, marriages, awards, and appointments. Readers who wish to send contributions should address them to People, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

GRIEVANCES

GRIEVANCE COUNSELING: Retired Senior Foreign Service officer attorney who served on Grievance Board staff will assist grievance presentation. Richard Greene, 161 Laurel Rd., Princeton, NJ 08540. (609)924-3077.

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ATTORNEY

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1985 AFSA ELECTION SECTION

In accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1985 Election Call, the following members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1985 election of officers and State, AID, USIA, and Retired constituency representatives of the AFSA Governing Board All members vote for officers and for representatives of their constituency.

OFFICERS

President: Robert Keeley (Unity Slate)
Vice President: Anthea S. de Rouville (Unity Slate)
Second Vice President: Charlotte Cromer (Unity Slate)
Secretary: Hartford Jennings (Unity Slate)
Treasurer: Warren Gardner (Unity Slate)

STATE CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES (Choose four)

1. Sandra A. Dembsky (Unity Slate)
2. James Derrick (Unity Slate)
3. Gerald Lamberty (Unity Slate)
4. James Williamson (Unity Slate)

AID CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES (Choose two)

1. William Ackerman (Unity Slate)
2. Frank Young (Unity Slate)

USIA CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVE (Choose one)

1. Richard Arndt (Unity Slate)

RETIRED CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES (Choose three)

1. William Calderhead (Unity Slate)
2. Roger Provencher (Unity Slate)
3. John Thomas (Unity Slate)

Ballots will be mailed on or about May 15, 1985, and marked ballots must be returned by 5 p.m., July 2, 1985. If you have not received your ballot by June 7, 1985, notify the chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee *immediately* in writing at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, or by "AFSA Channel" cable marked for delivery to AFSA Elections Committee.

It is each AFSA member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency are on record with AFSA.

The biographies that follow are published in accordance with Article IV(4) of the AFSA Bylaws. In publishing them, AFSA and its Standing Committee on Elections are required by Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as interpreted by the Department of Labor, to do so without making any modification of their contents. AFSA therefore disclaims any responsibility for the content of any campaign statements made by the candidates. Content is solely the responsibility of the candidates.

AFSA ELECTIONS COMMITTEE, 2101 E St. NW, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

Robert V. Keeley
President
Unity Slate

Bob Keeley joined the Foreign Service in 1956 and has been a member of AFSA continuously since that time. He is currently assigned to the Foreign Service Institute's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs as a Senior Fellow and is writing a memoir of his service as DCM and Charge at the Embassy in Kampala, Uganda during the years 1971-73.

The majority of Ambassador Keeley's career has been spent in African affairs. He was the first U.S. Ambassador to Zimbabwe (1980-84), had earlier served as Ambassador to Mauritius, and was Deputy Assistant Secretary in AF for eastern and southern Africa. Other AF assignments included Political Officer in Bamako, desk officer for Zaire, and Alternate Director for East Africa. Outside Africa Ambassador Keeley has served as Political Officer in Amman and Athens, and as DCM in Phnom Penh. His first assignment was a two-year detail to the Executive Secretariat of AID. In 1975-76 he was Deputy Director of the Interagency Task Force for the Indochina Refugees. He was named a Career Minister in 1982.

Ambassador Keeley received a BA degree from Princeton in English and Humanities in 1951. He has done graduate work at Princeton and Stanford in English literature, economics, public affairs and international relations. He served in the U.S. Coast Guard during the Korean conflict as commanding officer of a patrol boat.

Hartford Jennings
Secretary
Unity Slate

Hartford T. ("Terry") Jennings is an FO-03. He is currently serving as Chief of the Agricultural Development Division of the Office of International Development of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. An Ohio native, Jennings graduated from Michigan State University with a B.A. in Political Science. He has also attended Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies, the Georgetown University Law Center, and the Armed Forces Staff College. Jennings has served overseas in Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, and Botswana. His Foreign Service career was interrupted by three years in the private sector.

Terry Jennings is married and the father of four children, two of whom were born overseas and two in Washington. He has been an active member of the Thursday Luncheon Group and has served on AFSA's State Standing Committee for the past year. Since returning from his last overseas tour in 1982, Jennings has made two recruiting trips on behalf of the Service.

Warren Gardner
Treasurer
Unity Slate

Now budget officer in EAP/EX, Gardner previously served with S/IG as an inspector (audit, qualified) and participated in approximately a dozen various reviews, audits, and inspections worldwide during a four year period. AFSA experience includes finance committee participation (two years) and current AFSA Treasurer. Previous government experience includes four years with GAO. Graduated from the Univ. of Alabama with an MBA (finance emphasis).

James A. Derrick
State Representative
Unity Slate

James A. Derrick is currently assigned to the Office of Aviation in the Bureau of Economic Affairs. His previous tours have been in Pakistan, the Department (Personnel), a rover in AF, and Hong Kong. Before joining the Foreign Service, he worked for the Commerce Department and served in Germany with the Army. He has a bachelor's degree in Political Science.

A life member of AFSA, he has been on the governing board for the past year, and is on the State Standing, Finance, and Legislation Committees.

Proposed Changes to the AFSA Bylaws

The Elections Committee has received the following proposed amendments to the AFSA Bylaws from the Governing Board. The board had approved these proposed amendments and submitted them to the committee for a membership poll, as required under the bylaws. The proposed amendments are given below. A separate poll ballot will be included in the election mailing.

Under the bylaws, members have 45 days after publication of these proposed amendments to submit statements signed by not less than 10 members for circulation with the poll ballot. Statements should be under 250 words in length and must be in the hands of the Elections Committee by noon on May 15, 1985. No member may sign more than one statement.

According to the bylaws, two-thirds of the members responding to the poll must approve a proposed amendment to the bylaws for it to be put in force. Effective date of these proposed amendments is July 15, 1985.

Amendment A:

IV(2) Second line, add the following Italicized language:

Vacancies occurring during the term of the Board shall be filled by the Board by appointment from the Membership, provided that *Constituency Vice Presidents and* Representatives shall be chosen from the constituency of the vacancy as defined in Article IV(4).

IV(3) First line, change to read (changes in italics; deletions in brackets):

The Officers shall be a President, [a Second Vice President] *Constituency Vice Presidents*, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, elected by and from the entire Membership. They shall have the powers and duties specifically conferred on them by applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Governing Board.

IV(4) First and seventh lines, add the following italicized language:

The *Constituency Vice Presidents and* Representatives shall be elected from constituencies composed of the Members of the Foreign Service in each of the departments or agencies to which Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 applies, pursuant to Section 1003(a); provided that Chiefs of Mission and Ambassadors at large shall be members of the Department of State constituency, and all former members of the Service shall be members of the Retired constituency. *Representatives shall be elected by the appropriate constituency Members. Each constituency, with the exception of the Retired constituency, having a minimum of 100 Members as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year shall be entitled to a Constituency Vice President. In addition,* each constituency shall be entitled to one Representative for each 1000 Members or fraction thereof as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year, provided that any constituency which for three consecutive months has a membership which would on the above date have entitled it to an additional Representative shall have an additional Representative, who shall be appointed by the Governing Board. If subsequently during that Board's term that constituency has for three consecutive months a membership which no longer would entitle it to an additional Representative, that constituency will lose such additional Representative, who shall be the Representative most recently appointed by the Board.

Explanation: This amendment establishes Constituency Vice Presidents for each constituency with over 100 members. The Constituency Vice Presidents replace the current Vice President and Second Vice President and would be elected by the Membership at large. This change will assure representation among all active constituencies. The amendment would become effective July 15, 1985.

Amendment B

II(3) Third line, change to read:

The Board shall establish terms and conditions for affiliation with the Association, other than Membership, for persons not eligible for Membership. [American Citizens] *Individuals* closely associated with or interested in the foreign affairs of the United States may become associates upon the acceptance of their applications by the Board and the payment of dues.

Explanation: In recognition of the interest of non-American citizens in the Club, the Foreign Service Journal, and various professional interests which transcend national borders, this amendment would permit non-American citizens to become AFSA Associates. This amendment, which only applies to associate memberships, would become effective July 15, 1985.

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Galbraith guts Service; AFSA responds

Outgoing Ambassador to France Evan Galbraith backed down from charges that career Foreign Service personnel are "gutless" when a storm of criticism greeted his statement. "There is something about the Foreign Service that takes the guts out of people," the ambassador had said in an interview with the *New York Times*. "The tendency is to avoid confrontation."

That statement was but one round in a fusillade of criticism that included charges that most Foreign Service officers are "liberals" who voted for Walter Mondale. Galbraith also said that "foreign policy is too important to be left up to Foreign Service officers" and that most of their work is "not only useless but mislead[s] people."

In a widely cited news release, AFSA countered that Galbraith "gratuitously insults the very people who have done their best to keep him and by extension the United States out of trouble over the last several years." The Association "object[ed] strenuously" to his characterization of officers as gutless and said "we know that officers can have the courage to argue their convictions and the loyalty to vigorously carry out their instructions."

Secretary Shultz issued a strong statement through his spokesman and added, "Somebody ought to tie his tongue for him." In a cable to Shultz, Galbraith immediately backed down and claimed that the *Times* article "badly distorts my views. Far from feeling scorn for career officials, I know most of them to be highly dedicated, competent, and often courageous."

FSLRB backs judge on sale of personal property

The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board has ruled against AFSA in a dispute over the recently won agreement allowing retention of profits from the sale of personal property overseas. In doing so, the board affirmed the decision of an administrative law judge on an unfair labor practice charge filed by the Association against the Department of State. The dispute centered on whether currency conversion in connection with the sales constitutes conditions of employment and whether the department's limitations on conversions represented a change in working conditions.

AFSA had charged the department with unilaterally changing the conditions of employment by instructing ambassadors to limit the conversion of currency [ASSOCIATION NEWS, June 1983, February 1984]. The department issued the instructions on April 15, 1983, two days prior to the implementation of a negotiated agreement permitting employees to retain profits from the sale of personal property.

An administrative law judge determined that the department's instructions on currency conversion did not involve conditions of employment within the meaning of the Foreign Service Act because they related to the government-wide or multi-agency responsibility of the secretary of state. Moreover, since the department was merely providing guidance on the extent of preexisting ambassadorial discretion, there was no change in working conditions which would have triggered a duty to negotiate. The general counsel of the FSLRB represented AFSA before the administrative law judge and filed exceptions to the judge's decision when AFSA appealed to the full board.

"Hang in there and fight back," LAF contributors tell AFSA

Along with 900 checks that have poured in for the Legislative Action Fund in the last couple of months have come notes cheering the Association on in its fight against proposed cuts in the Foreign Service system of retirement and other benefits. "Hang in there and fight back" is the consensus of the contributors.

"The present administration seems to qualify as the one most likely to succeed in destroying the Foreign Service," said a member in Rhode Island. "Best of luck in seeking to protect us from the ungrateful," wrote one in Bahrain. "Here's my check for $100, with the hope that the last 'LAF' is at the expense of Stockman and Associates," added a member in Brazil.

"God bless you on our behalf with the forces that seem to want to renege on their previous commitments," wrote a retiree in Mississippi. You can help us by sending a tax-deductible contribution to the LAF.

Five AFSA presidents confer

Five AFSA presidents gathered at the Foreign Service Club for lunch recently to discuss professional concerns. From left, they are Kenneth Bleakley, William Harrop, Thomas Boyatt, incumbent Dennis K. Hays, and Lannon Walker.

Deadline on election ballots extended

The deadline for the receipt of election ballots has been extended by two days, from June 30 to Tuesday, July 2. The extension will allow ballots received over the weekend to be included.

Jubilees to be honored at May 4 brunch

AFSA's Jubilee Members—those who have belonged to the Association for 50 years or longer—will be honored at the annual brunch for retirees AFSA holds the day after Foreign Service Day. The event will be held on Saturday, May 4, at the Foreign Service Club.

AFSA Governing Board members and Congressional Liaison Robert Beers will bring the members up to date on possible revisions in the federal retirement system. The cash bar opens at 10 a.m. and the brunch will be served at 10:45. Send in your check for $15 for the event or enclose your membership number for billing.

AFSA awards ceremony to be held May 17

The annual AFSA Awards Ceremony honoring Foreign Service officers for their intellectual courage and the spouse of an officer who has advanced American interests overseas will be held at 11 a.m. on May 17 in the Loy Henderson Conference Room in the Department of State. This year, the first winners of the Sinclaire Language Awards for excellence in the study of a hard language will also be honored. There will be a keynote speaker drawn from the upper levels of the foreign affairs community.

Retirement, personnel issues top list of AID constituency concerns

Preserving the present Foreign Service retirement system and equitably managing the open assignment and evaluation systems were the chief concerns of AID members responding to an informal poll conducted by AFSA's AID Standing Committee this winter. The need for greater emphasis on career development and the maintenance of overseas benefits and allowances were also cited by members.

The survey also indicates that AID personnel in general do not feel that management is supportive of them. The most commonly stated reason is that most management and personnel officials are not in the Foreign Service and thus have little understanding of the needs of Foreign Service personnel. About a quarter of the respondents had encountered recent problems with management. These problems were most often with employee evaluation reports, travel, assignments, and tenuring. In most cases, the employee felt the problem had not been satisfactorily resolved.

The survey found that AFSA communications with members needs improving. Of those responding, 28 percent in Washington and 52 percent overseas do not receive AFSA Redtop bulletins or cables. Large majorities also saw a need for a separate newsletter for AFSA members in AID, especially if it carried news not provided through Redtops and cables or the ASSOCIATION NEWS. The members responding listed the following topics that should be covered, in order of interest: issues being addressed by the Standing Committee; and developments in Congress and the agency affecting pay, allowances, and benefits.

Results are still being received, and AID members who have not yet replied are asked to do so soon.

AFSA's Committee on Education

The AFSA Committee on Education paused for a group picture during one of their meetings last month. From left, they are: James D. Singletary (AID), Janet Biggs (AAFSW), Administrator Dawn Cuthell, Chairman Claude G. Ross, Sheila W. Austrian (USIA), and David T. Jones (State).

Legislative Alert

Now Is the Time to Write to Congress

Your generous contributions to the Legislative Action Fund—more than $53,000 in the first six weeks, already nearly twice the level of the last campaign—will be used to support AFSA's efforts on Capitol Hill to fight cutbacks in the system of Foreign Service allowances and benefits. This will be done both in concert with other federal-employee unions and by distinguishing the unique needs of the Foreign Service. At issue is a broad spectrum of proposed cuts in pay and retirement benefits for active-duty employees, and slashes in cost-of-living adjustments for current retirees. Your contributions will give AFSA the resources it needs to act on behalf of your interests collectively.

As the cards and letters that have accompanied your contributions show, we have your moral support as well. But there is one more thing we need you to do. We need the action of our members as individuals, by writing your representative and your senators. We have sent a sample letter to posts and offices in Washington. But it is best if you construct your own. Here are some talking points:

1. *State from the beginning that you and your colleagues recognize your obligation to accept an equitable portion of any sacrifice that must be borne by the nation as a whole.* Point out, however, that federal civilian employees have already had to absorb a disproportionate share of penalties over the last 10 years and should not be punished for choosing a career of national service.

2. *Point out that changing rules in the middle of the game is a breach of faith.* This charge carried great weight in our fight two years ago, and it has even been supported by President Reagan in response to the criticism of his budget director's charges against military retirement. Say that this philosophy should apply to all federal employees.

3. *Note that extensions of the minimum retirement age and penalties for early retirement will unfairly penalize the Foreign Service.* The Service is an up-or-out career. The State Department has estimated that 120 officers at the class one level—nearly one in six!—will be forced to retire after next year's selection boards. In addition, 40 percent of those up for consideration for limited career extensions will be denied them. These forced retirements are regardless of age or service—and that means an unfair penalty if their promised annuities are cut. This change would mean altering a personnel system that ensures that only the best people are in the most responsible positions.

4. *Like the military, the CIA, and some other career services, the Foreign Service has special hazards and stresses.* These include overseas service, terrorism, family separation, diminished educational opportunities for children and employment for spouses, and often health hazards as well. A change in voluntary retirement at 50 will mean a change in the very structure of the Service.

5. *Pay cuts will further erode the ground already lost on private-sector comparability.* The Advisory Committee on Federal Pay—the president's pay agent—has called for annual comparability increases that have not been met for years. An employee who earned $20,000 in 1978, for example, has already sacrificed $10,500. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, federal white collar salaries have decreased 25.5 percent, after inflation, over the last 10 years. Even without a pay cut, or freeze, we are already behind. Who will be attracted to federal service if this trend continues?

6. *In sum, any short-term economies that might be realized from the enactment of the various proposals that have been presented would be offset many times over in the long run by a marked deterioration in the quality, spirit, and dedication of the Foreign Service workforce.* Need it be said that this is not in the national interest?

A primer on filling out OERs offered at AFSA event at USIA

Dozens of suggestions on filling out Officer Evaluation Reports were offered by an expert panel at the fifth event in the series "Dialogs on Public Diplomacy," sponsored by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee. Held last month, the program featured the agency's Kenton Keith as moderator and a panel of senior officers with experience on promotion panels: Lois Roth, Kent Obee, and John Reid.

The panel agreed on most aspects of the performance-rating process but sometimes differed in emphasis. A summary of their remarks:

—OERS are a major responsibility; the rating officer must devote time, care, and thought to each.

—The overwhelming majority of USIA offficers are rated excellent or higher; for this reason, narratives that do not support the rating are relatively meaningless.

—Many OERs cite activity but not results; more important than what the rated officer did is what was achieved.

—Too many OERs depict "excellent blahs," providing praise without substantive examples.

—Rating officers tend to err on the side of verbosity, but panels tire of reading narratives that fill in the whole space when a few words will do; panels want prose that is concise, clear, and candid.

—The rating officer, while striving for brevity, has the job of making flesh and blood out of the narrative.

—The rating officer should ask, What qualities about this officer most impress me? then use the answer to outline the report.

—The rating officer should be sure the points are made in the appropriate section of the report.

—Work requirements should not be the same each year, even in the same assignment; rather, they should reflect growth and normal changes in work circumstances.

—The rated officer has an important responsibility to exercise care and thought in preparing material for the rating officer to use.

—Some panels view with great importance the reviewing officer's comments, especially when there is disagreement between the rated and rating officers.

—The rated officer should ensure that his or her management skills are amply demonstrated, along with other performance.

—OERs based on personality rather than substantive achievements are poor reports.

—All officers are "up against the form"; the form is a given and must therefore be dealt with in as creative a manner as possible.

—The rated officer's statement is a challenge to use well [see related article]; highly rated officers should be brief, poorly rated officers should not attempt a point-by-point rebuttal, middle-level rating can rarely be improved in this section; the worse thing to do is to go on at length.

—Panels tend to give an edge to officers in supervisory positions, other things being equal.

—An outside assignment—to another agency, Congress, academe, etc.—is considered a credit by most panels, not a debit as some officers believe.

—OERs must provide enough detail in the position description section to reflect accurately office size, personnel supervised, etc.

—Every OER should have a Professional Experience Profile.

Points to remember when filling out your EER

EER time is here again and we would like to offer some suggestions for filling out Section VII, "Statement by Rated Employee." Here in the AFSA office we see a lot of Employee Evaluation Reports and hear many tales of woe. We would therefore like to inject a cautionary note or two that you may consider unnecessary. We can assure you that they're not.

Your statement in Section VII can be extremely valuable. It's one of the few places in the EER where the real you can shine through—minus all the gloss about water-walkers and so forth. In attempting to distinguish among several hundred supermen and women, Selection Boards tend to stress two points. First, they want examples. That is up to the rating and reviewing officers, however, although you are advised to insist on their inclusion. Second is the employee statement, and that's up to you.

The employee statement can be a double-edged sword. Do you want the real you to show through, or just selected parts? Read the statement out loud and imagine how it will sound when read in a small smoky room with five or six tired men and women who are trying to be fair to dozens of employees. Promotion opportunities are few and EERs depressingly alike. Help these people decide on you.

Take the full 10 days allowed you under the regulations to prepare your statement—even if that makes the EER late. The penalty will go to the person who gave it to you late. Obviously, this is not the place for poor English but, more important, it is not the place for long philosophical diatribes. Do not take your EER home and compose a ten-page rejoinder while you down a couple of drinks. Do not take the opportunity to digress on the shortcomings of the Service, your post, or your supervisor. If you disagree with your rating or feel something has been left out, however, put it in. But always be positive: build yourself up rather than tearing others down. On the other hand, try not to sound like you are accepting an Oscar, with praise for all those who helped you succeed. That doesn't read well back in that smoky room.

Remember, it's your career. Make your statement one you'll be proud to read ten or twenty years from now.

Help stamp out N/A on EER forms

For those secretaries and other support staff whose Employee Evaluation Reports are written by officers who may not understand the intricacies of their jobs, we advise firmness in pointing out omissions on the EER form.

When your rating officer puts "N/A" after technical skills, managerial skills, and leadership, point out gently but firmly that you have just dismantled and reassembled the Xerox for the fourth time this month, the outer office is working smoothly, and your new filing system is being used by the rest of the staff to produce materials faster than ever before. Point out that the high morale and productivity just might be the result of your possession of the very qualities marked N/A.

Clearing a substantive cable in the department, for example, shows functional and area knowledge, effectiveness in oral communication, negotiating skill, conceptual ability, judgment, cultural sensitivity, interpersonal skills—and self control. Dealing with a congressional delegation, on the other hand, would involve all that plus operational effectiveness.

The competencies in the EER pertain to and are needed by every employee in the Foreign Service—not just officers. Insist on a little care and time in the preparation of your EER.

900 respond to legislative appeal as fund reaches record $53,000

More than 10 percent of the membership has contributed to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund appeal, raising a campaign warchest of more than $53,000 to battle administration plans to reduce retirement and other benefits for current employees and retirees. In its first six weeks, the campaign reached the participation level of the previous drive, conducted over a period of six months two years ago, and exceeded the dollar amount by more than $20,000.

Contributions to the fund, which are tax deductible, are used to finance AFSA's efforts on Capitol Hill to fight cutbacks on a broad range of benefits, including the proposed five-percent pay cut, changes in annuity-computation formulas for current employees, and reductions in cost-of-living adjustments for retirees.

AFSA's campaign is conducted on two levels. The Association works in conjunction with other federal-employee unions to fight the broad spectrum of cuts and changes, while seeking to convince legislators of the unique needs of the Foreign Service.

The battle promises to be a long one. Contributions will be acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to be anonymous. Join your colleagues by sending your tax-deductible donation to:

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25th anniversary Bookfair seeks donations

Bookfair '85, sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women, will only open its doors October 18 with your help, according to Publicity Chairman Dorothy Penner. "Our supply of books is quite low right now. We need the donations of all of you, as well as from your friends and neighbors."

Penner noted that the Bookfair sells all types of books, hardcover and paperback, adult and children's, English and foreign language. The fair also sells art objects, stamps, and records. All donations are tax deductible.

Proceeds from the sale benefit the AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Fund and community projects. Book bins are located in the State Department, the USIA building, and the Foreign Service Institute. For information and home pickup, call or see Joan McGinley in the Bookroom, Room 1524 in State, (202) 223-5796.

Life & Love in the Foreign Service

Winners of the monthly LIFE & LOVE contest receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. Honorable mentions receive a free carafe of wine.

Mail entries to:

LIFE & LOVE #21
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Competition #21

"Smile and keep dancing—I think we've got them convinced we're a tandem couple!"
—Pat Langford, Bangkok

Saunders named new secretary

Kathy Marie Saunders, who specialized in government and politics at University of Maryland, has been named secretary/receptionist at the AFSA headquarters building. She succeeds Supajee Lapcharoen, who resigned to move to Thailand.

Saunders comes to AFSA from the George Washington University, where she was a secretary in the Office of Records and Benefits. Previous to that she was receptionist at Scientific Management Associates of Landover, Maryland, and secretarial assistant in the Chemistry Department of University of Maryland.

Her background includes work in computer science, mathematics, and word processing.

The secretary/receptionist reports to the executive director and works on a variety of tasks.

JOURNAL, congressional relations lead benefits in retiree survey

The JOURNAL and AFSA's congressional relations program were the most important benefits cited by an informal poll of AFSA's retired members last winter. Surveys were included in directories mailed to each of AFSA's 2400 retired members.

AFSA's insurance programs were the third most popular benefit in the nationwide sample. Among those in the Washington metropolitan area, the Foreign Service Club ranked third.

Some 43 percent of the respondents expressed interest in an annual symposium scheduled around Foreign Service Day. Interest in participating in a speakers bureau was noted by 30 percent. Work in outreach programs was cited by 27 percent.

New R&R option allows travel to nearest point in U.S.

We have received numerous inquiries concerning the new R&R regulations, so we would like to clear up the confusion.

Posts should understand that there are now two *separate* R&R options for R&R and danger posts. These are not interchangeable and carry their own rules and obligations. Posts may want to determine which best suits their situations.

The first option contains the same benefits as before: employees may either travel to the primary R&R point, or they may travel on a cost-constructive basis to any place of their choosing in the United States or overseas. If an employee in Kingston, for example, wants to take R&R in Cypress Gardens, Florida, rather than the designated point in Mexico, he or she may do so as long as the travel costs do not exceed those to the primary relief point in Mexico. Under this option, there are no minimum or maximum time limits as to how long the employee must stay in the United States.

In the past, employees at many distant R&R and danger posts have wanted to spend their time in the United States but because of distance were financially forbidden under the cost-constructive method. This is where the new option comes in. The second option funds travel costs to the nearest point of entry in the United States. Therefore, an employee in Tromso, Norway, who does not want to take R&R in Paris but prefers the Grand Canyon will be reimbursed for travel to New York City. There is a requirement, however, that at least half the leave time be spent in the United States.

As in the past, employees are not required to take R&R at the same time as their dependents, nor must employees and dependents travel to the same point. However, the minimum time requirement under the second option applies to all family members.

Come to AFSA's Annual

Buffet/Brunch

10 a.m., Saturday, May 4, at the Foreign Service Club

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Questions About Proposed Changes in Retirement?

RETIREMENT NEWS

A Half-Century's Perspective: Reflections by Our 50-Year Members

Last year, to celebrate its 60th anniversary, AFSA combed its records to find those members who had joined 50 or more years ago. The year 1934 was a hard one for the diplomatic service. Terrorism and world war were over the horizon, but austerity from the world wide depression made life in the Foreign Service exceedingly difficult.

The Association recently asked its Jubilee Members to write a few words comparing the Foreign Service of today with the one they joined. The Service was smaller, the pay lower, the physical risks fewer. Yet the play of history encompassed some of the great events of our time. Here we print edited excerpts from some of their responses.

Marcelis C. Parsons

What were the elements of life around the world that allowed diplomats to remain free from threats of terrorism and what are some of the causes for its prevalence today?

In post-war years, population movements across international borders and into urban centers have contributed to the diminished effectiveness of law enforcement operations. The relative homogeneity of political units and the concentration of smaller percentages of ethnic groups within political and industrial centers enabled police to obtain more extensive knowledge of malcontents. Widespread use of identity cards helped security keep better track. The duplication of documents was far more difficult.

There was also an absence of a means of rapid escape owing to the limited availability of motor vehicles, infrequent air transport, and relatively limited international travel. Fewer travelers meant that immigration and security officers could bide their time in questioning suspects. Today, worldwide migration has reached dimensions that were inconceivable in pre-war times.

It was also easy for the great colonial powers, such as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal, to maintain security in areas they controlled. Lacking the sounding board of the United Nations, even the most justifiable cries for reform were confined unless journalists of exceptional prestige revealed injustice. There was tranquility of life both for the "oppressor" and "oppressed" that may well appear preferable to both sides in retrospect. There were certainly abuses by the secret police in pre-war Italy, Germany, and Portugal. In cases where the alternative to civil restraint can be shown to have threatened public safety of the majority with anarchy, however, its exercise was and is justified.

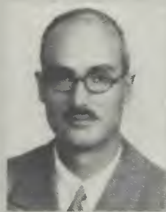
There can be no disagreement with the assertion that television, radio, and newspaper coverage of the assassination of President Kennedy—the first presidential victim since McKinley—provided visible proof of the ease with which such violence might be achieved. In light of such widespread presentation of the vulnerability of public officials, no wonder the sacrosanctity of the professional diplomat has become a dead letter. Today's Foreign Service employees deserve the highest admiration from their predecessors for their unfailing courage.

Cecil B. Lyon

I am frequently asked which post was the best. All of them.

There was Peking when the Japanese army marched in. There was Cairo and the pleasure of sneaking Emperor Haile Selassie and King Ibn Saud into Egypt and down to the great Bitter Lake to meet President Roosevelt on his way home from Yalta. There was the 1953 uprising in East Berlin in which we, on the spot, felt that we were skirting on the brink of World War III. Other posts also had absorbing work and evoke vivid memories, but I must confess that Paris, with the return of General de Gaulle to power in 1958 and the six and a half short years that followed, offered the most spellbinding and happiest years of my career. Our relations with *le General* presented constant difficulties. Still, to observe at first hand France under his leadership regaining her pride and confidence, to note with what skill the "Last of the Giants," step by careful step, solved the almost intractable Algerian question, and to feel that one was playing a role, however minor, in this drama was experience of the highest order.

It used to be said that the Foreign Service was an unusual career in that the wives played almost as important a role as their husbands. This is no longer the case. "It's a pity," Mrs. Norman Armour—certainly the personification of the ideal Foreign Service wife of yore—remarked to me recently. "The Foreign Service wives of today don't realize what they are missing. We felt that we were all working together in a good cause—and it was such fun."



Henry S. Villard

One change apparent to all has been the increased physical danger inherent in the Foreign Service career. It was shockingly brought home to me at the ceremony in the department on Foreign Service Day in 1984, honoring the latest victims of terrorism. Before World War II, I served on a committee that had to decide whether the circumstances under which an officer died were sufficiently "tragic or heroic" to warrant inclusion on the Memorial Plaque. The assassination of our consul general in Beirut by a disgruntled visa applicant, or the drowning of an officer in an attempt to rescue another, counted of course. But a death by pleurisy or of a heart attack incurred in the line of duty did not. In those days inscriptions were happily few and far between. Today, the great amount of additional space required by the plaque is sobering testimony to the new hazards of serving abroad.

Photographs from *Photographic Register of The Foreign Service*, 1936.

Allan Lightner

The secretary of state, who used to dominate foreign policy decision-making, no longer does. Our ambassadors' roles abroad have been undermined with the tendency of Washington to send out trouble shooters to hot spots. But it has not all been a negative picture. In this technological era the Foreign Service and the Department of State have become more efficient despite the flowering of Parkinson's Law in Foggy Bottom. The Foreign Service has innumerable material benefits along with its risks and security problems. Of course it thrives best when foreign policy is bipartisan, but so far it has retained its independence, its professionalism, and dedication. Its value to the nation can only increase in this world, where diplomacy and negotiation are the only alternatives to nuclear war.

Carl O. Hawthorne

Foreign Service personnel were respected abroad, and there was an absence of the current terrorism directed against Americans in general and American officials in particular. As the officer in charge of our consulate at Tsinan in Japanese-occupied China, I had no fear that I might be mistreated by the Japanese military following Pearl Harbor, despite the fact that my office had repeatedly lodged protests with the Japanese authorities concerning the disregard by their military of American rights and interests.

R. Borden Reams

When I entered the Service, officers were limited in number. It was a small group and everyone in it either knew personally or by reputation every other member of the group. This produced a close association resembling in many ways a family group. We were proud of our membership in that group. We were even more proud of the fact that in our own way we were dedicated to the maintenance and enhancement of American interests in the world. We realized that our individual efforts might seem to be unimportant but we were certain that the efforts of the group were of great importance.

Increasing American responsibilities in the world scene made essential the numerical growth of the Foreign Service. This inevitably tended to impersonalize the relationship between the members of the enlarged group. However, I am certain that the modern Foreign Service shares to a very large degree our pride in the Service as a whole. I am equally certain that they are as dedicated as we were in their efforts to make certain that American interests are preserved and protected.

David McK. Key

I entered the Foreign Service and reported to the department in April 1925. Ours was the first group to take an entrance examination and to be commissioned as Foreign Service officers unclassified and vice consuls of career. In that era, there were relatively few embassies, and most of the diplomatic posts were legations. In Latin America, for instance, the only U.S. embassies were in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil,and Chile. Similarly in Europe, the only embassies, if I recall it correctly, were in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. In all of Africa there were only three missions, all of them legations. In the Orient, just China and Japan, and Siam, I believe.

When I was assigned to our embassy in Berlin in 1927, there were only four officers in addition to the counselor. In 1929, when I served in London, there were a counselor and five secretaries to assist the ambassador. I was in London last summer and had a look at our chancery there, which I was told was by no means large enough to house the staff.

Jacob D. Beam

I remember the "Massacre of the Diplomats" in the mid-thirties, when the striped-pants boys were exiled to hardship posts, and it was followed by the "Massacre of the Consuls," many of whom were put out after the war. Fortunately, the current assignment and promotion procedures are more rational, although we have the problem of over-staffing and the non-utilization of senior officers.

Robert McGregor

I was a watch officer during the war and worked the 11 p.m. to 9 a.m. shift in the code room, the nerve center for nighttime operations. A white telephone connected us with the White House. Among our instructions was an order to report any telegram noting activities of Nazi ships interned in hemisphere ports. President Roosevelt himself responded to these, and one night he received the news that the *Emmy Frederic* was moving from Tampico out to sea. "Wait a minute," he told me when I called with the news. "I must find this vessel on my board. Okay, I got it. Thanks." The president delighted to surprise Admiral Land with his prior knowledge of ship movements.

The relay of top secret decoded messages after hours to the White House and the secretary was accomplished in a most casual manner. When there was a message for the president, a very dignified usher in swallow-tail coat came across Executive Avenue, took the envelope, and went back to the White House. For the secretary, the watch officer himself strolled across Lafayette Square and up 16th Street to the Ritz Carlton. There he took the special elevator to the secretary's suite, waited while the cables were read, and returned. When the secretary moved up to Wardman Park, the nightly cable routine was altered. It started with the trolley car in front of the State Department, up to the Calvert Street Bridge, over Rock Creek Park to Wardman. The watch officer returned by the same conveyance. There were no government cars for watch officers.

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